CANADIAN THESES ON MICROFICHE

I.S.B.N.

THESES CANADIENNES SUR MICROFICHE

National Library of Canada
Collections Development Branch

Canadian Theses on
Microfiche Service

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Direction du développement des collections

Service des thèses canadiennes
sur microfiche

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us a poor photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de mauvaise qualité.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

NL-339 (r. 82/08)

Canada

0-315-09012-X

126

National Library of Canada
Canadian Theses Division
Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Division des thèses canadiennes

56929

PERMISSION TO MICROFILM — AUTORISATION DE MICROFILMER

• Please print or type — Écrire en lettres moulées ou dactylographier

Full Name of Author — Nom complet de l'auteur

DARLINGTON CHONGO MUNDENDE

Date of Birth — Date de naissance 24th JULY, 1954	Country of Birth — Lieu de naissance ZAMBIA

Permanent Address — Résidence fixe

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY
THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA
BOX 32379
LUSAKA, ZAMBIA

Title of Thesis — Titre de la thèse

AFRICAN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA SINCE WORLD WAR II

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
University — Université

MASTER OF ARTS
Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée

SPRING 1982 Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade	Name of Supervisor — Nom du directeur de thèse L.A. KOSIŃSKI

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

Date DEC. 8, 1981	Signature DCMundende

NL-91 (4/77)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

AFRICAN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA SINCE WORLD WAR II

by

© DARLINGTON CHONGO MUNDENDE

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF Master of Arts

Geography

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

Spring, 1982

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR DARLINGTON CHONGO MUNDENDE

TITLE OF THESIS AFRICAN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA SINCE WORLD WAR II

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED Master of Arts

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED Spring, 1982

Permission is hereby granted to THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

(SIGNED) DCMundende

PERMANENT ADDRESS:

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY
UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA
BOX 32379, LUSAKA, ZAMBIA

DATED NOVEMBER 27, 1981.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled AFRICAN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA SINCE WORLD WAR II submitted by DARLINGTON CHONGO MUNDENDE in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Supervisor

Date Nov. 27th, 1981

ABSTRACT

International migration since the Second World War has witnessed many changes. Patterns and trends have reversed the direction of flows. Whereas Europe supplied most of the immigrants to Canada in the early postwar period, the Third World countries have been increasingly sending more immigrants after 1960. Although migration from other source areas has been well documented, African immigration has not received similar attention. Most of the references to it are just made in passing. African immigration to Canada was virtually controlled to its exclusion prior to 1962. This study endeavours to identify trends and patterns of African immigration to Canada. Their impact on the immigrants, the areas of origin and areas of destination has been described.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am sincerely grateful to Dr. L.A. Kosinski, my thesis supervisor, for his competent supervision, generous guidance and helpful suggestions during all the stages of this research, and during my stay at the University of Alberta.

Special thanks go to Dr. S.I. Smith, Department of Geography, whose advice in some troublesome spots in the analysis was always timely; and to Dr. K.J. Krotki, Department of Sociology, for serving on my thesis committee.

A note of thanks to Ms. Halina Cieko of the Catholic Social Services for contacting some of the interviewees on my behalf. A similar note of thanks is extended to Mr. Austin Sichinga.

The Economic Council of Canada provided some of the Staff publications. Thanks go to the Department of Employment and Immigration, and to Mr. A. Heath in particular, for providing me with unpublished special tabulations as well as other helpful materials.

To the people who willingly answered my "bothersome" questions in Edmonton, a special "thank you" is extended. I also owe special thanks to the friends who gave me encouragement during all the stages of this research.

Ms. Susan Preston offered her typing skills at the crucial moment. I am very grateful for her help.

My wife, Chanda, and daughter, Chongo, offered constant encouragement and support. My words cannot express enough how grateful I am to them. I thank them especially for allowing me to become a "visitor in my own home."

I thank the Department of Geography of the University of Alberta for the assistance with the resources for the use of the computer.

This research project was carried out when I was on the University of Zambia Staff Development Fellowship programme.

Table of Contents

Chapter Page

I. INTRODUCTION 1
  A. Research Theme 1
  B. The Purpose and Objectives of Study 2
  C. Hypotheses 3
  D. Data Sources 4
  E. Methodology 7
  F. Literature Review 8
    Spatial Aspects of Migration 14
    Spatial and Subjective Aspects of Migration 18
    Why Does Migration Occur? 19
    Consequences of Migration 23
  G. Basic Concepts in the Study of Migration 24
II. AFRICAN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION 27
  A. Introduction 27
  B. Background to African Immigration to Canada 29
III. REVIEW OF THE CANADIAN IMMIGRATION POLICY 37
  A. Introduction 37
  B. Immigration Policy Prior to World War II 37
  C. Immigration Policy Since World War II 42
    Early Post War Immigration Policy Changes 42
    The 1952 Immigration Act 44
    The 1962 Immigration Regulations 47
    The 1967 Immigration Regulations 49
    The Changed Attitudes 54
    Towards a New Immigration Act 55
    The 1976 Immigration Act 56
  D. Summary 63
IV. PATTERNS OF IMMIGRATION INTO CANADA SINCE 1946 67
  A. Introduction 67

B. Volume of Immigration 67
C. Areas of Origin 71
D. Destination of Immigrants 73
E. Occupational Characteristics of Immigrants 77
F. Contribution of Immigrants to Canadian Population Growth 79
G. Immigration in 1979 79
H. Summary 81
V. AFRICAN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA SINCE WORLD WAR II 83
A. Introduction 83
B. Volume and Origin of African Immigration to Canada 83
C. Intended Destinations of African Immigrants 90
D. Educational and Occupational Qualifications 93
E. Age and Sex Distribution of Immigrants from Africa 99
F. Summary 104
VI. MIGRATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF AFRICANS IN EDMONTON 105
A. Introduction 105
B. Characteristics of the Respondents 105
C. Reasons for Immigrating 106
D. Choice of Destination in Canada 112
E. Problems After Immigrating? 113
F. Social Networks and Integration into Canadian Society 115
G. Future Migratory Plans 116
H. Summary 117
VII. CONSEQUENCES OF AFRICAN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA 118
A. Introduction 118
B. Effects on the Immigrant 118
C. Effects on the Origin 119
D. Effects on the Destination 130
E. Effects on the Intervening Space 135
F. Perpetuation of African Immigration to Canada? 135
VIII. CONCLUSIONS 137

A. Introduction 137

B. Is African Immigration to Canada Good or Bad? 139

C. What Are the Solutions? 140

  Preventive Measures 140

  Restrictive Measures 142

  Restorative Measures 143

  Compensatory Measures 144

D. Limitations of Present Study and Suggestions for Further Study 146

BIBLIOGRAPHY 148

APPENDIX A 166

APPENDIX B 168

APPENDIX C 172

LIST OF TABLES

1.1 Canadian Immigration Statistics, 1956-1979. 5

2.1 African Immigration to Australia, Canada , New Zealand and the United States, 1950-1974. 30

3.1 Selection Criteria for the 1967 Immigration Regulations: Summary of Selection Factors. 50

3.2 Selection Criteria for the 1976 Immigration Act: Summary of Selection Factors. 60

3.3 Number and Distribution of Canadian Immigration Offices Abroad for Selected Years. 64

3.4 Immigration Offices in Africa. 65

4.1 Total Volume of Immigration to Canada, 1946-1979. 68

4.2 Average Annual Immigration to Canada by Major Sources and by Major Periods of Immigration, 1956-1979 70

4.3 Contribution of Net Immigration to the Total Canadian Population Growth, 1946-1979. 80

4.4 Countries of Last Permanent Residence from which at Least 2,000 People Immigrated to Canada, 1979 82

5.1 African Immigration to Canada, 1946-1979. 84

5.2 African Immigration to Canada: Top Ten Largest Source Areas of Immigrants, Selected Years. 88

5.3 Intended Destination of Immigrants from Africa, 1962-1979 92

5.4 Official Languages Spoken in Conversation by Foreign Born Immigrants by Birth Place in Quebec, Ontario and Elsewhere in Canada, 1971. 96

5.5 Level of Schooling by Sex of African Immigrants Arriving Between 1961 and 1971. ... 97

5.6 Intended Professional Occupations of Immigrants from Africa to Canada, 1973-1979. 100

5.7 Immigration from Africa by Class and by Year of Arrival, 1972-1979. 101

5.8 Average Annual African Immigration to Canada by Sex Groups and by Major Periods of Immigration, 1962-1979 102

5.9 Immigrants from Africa Aged 15-34 and 20-29 Years, 1962-1979 103

6.1 Occupations or Schools of Respondents. 107

6.2 Reasons for Immigrating and Choosing Destination 110

7.1 Number of Physicians and Medical Density in Africa and Canada, Around 1977 121

7.2 Scientific and Technical Manpower in Africa, Latest Year Available. 125

7.3 Scientific and Technical Manpower Engaged in Research and Experimental Development in Africa, Latest Year Available. 127

LIST OF FIGURES

1.1 Regions and Countries of Africa 9
1.2 Origin and Destination and Intervening Obstacles in Migration 11
1.3 Organization of Migration Behaviour Within Space 26
4.1 Immigration and Emigration: Canada 1851-1976 72
4.2 Immigration to Canada by Major Source Areas of Immigrants, 1956-1979 74
4.3 Intended Destination of Immigrants to Canada, 1962-1979 76
4.4 Immigrants Destined to the Labour Force, Percentage Distribution of Given Occupational Groups, 1946-1979 78
5.1 African Immigration to Canada by Country of Last Permanent Residence and by Country of Citizenship 86
5.2 Immigration to Canada by Given Regions of Africa and by Major Periods of Immigration, 1964-1979 87
5.3 African Emigration to Canada, 1964-1979 91
5.4 Destination of Francophone and Anglophone African Immigrants to Canada, 1973-1979 94
5.5 Distribution of African Immigrants Destined to the Labour Force for Given Occupational Groups, 1962-1979 98
6.1 Migratory Paths of Respondents 114
7.1 Probable Impact of African Emigration, Around 1977 124
7.2 African Immigration to Canada, Rates per 1,000 Immigrants, 1962-1979 134

I. INTRODUCTION

Although migration is an especially attractive research area for a geographer, the development of migration studies owes much to interdisciplinary efforts and it is impossible to draw sharp lines between different contributions.

Kosinski and Prothero 1975
Introduction: The Study of Migration
p.1

A. Research Theme

Population migration studies have been conducted by researchers in different academic disciplines including economics, sociology, history, psychology, demography and geography. Whatever discipline of study is followed migration studies seek to answer important questions such as: Who is a migrant? Why does he migrate? Where does he come from? Where does he go? What are the consequences of such a move? It is the answers to these questions that reveal academic inclinations. For instance, economists concentrate on what effects migration has in the areas of origin and destination since the migration of labour is an important facet of resource redistribution. The sociologists are also interested in the effects of migration because these influence the interrelationships between the migrant and his own or other social groups. The demographers are also interested in the same questions since they seek to consider the role migrants play in the general evolution of populations. The geographers have traditionally been largely responsible for analysis of spatial aspects of migration with regard to distance, direction of migration flows, size and interconnectiveness of places of origin and destination, information fields and intervening opportunities between alternative destinations. Recently, it has been pointed out that population migration studies can be greatly enhanced if an interdisciplinary approach is taken (Shaw 1975; White and Woods 1980; Wong 1979). In the present study efforts have been made to borrow from several academic disciplines but an essentially geographical focus has been retained.

B. The Purpose and Objectives of Study

The purpose of this study is to analyze African immigration to Canada since 1946. The main focus will be to identify and map trends and patterns of that immigration and to analyze their impact. Efforts will be made to identify where in Africa immigrants come from, where they settle in Canada, why they leave Africa and what their characteristics have been during the postwar period. Efforts will also be made to identify the effects of such moves on the immigrants, the areas of origin and the areas of destination. In addition, the Canadian immigration policy will be analysed in terms of its impact on African immigration.

Immigration from developing countries to Canada has been increasing since 1946 and Africa participated in this trend. A pertinent analysis asks for how the volume and composition of African immigration changed over the postwar period.

Roughly, with the exception of ex-Portuguese colonies, Africa can be divided into Anglophone and Francophone Africa just as Canada has been linguistically divided. This reflects the impact of colonial rule on the ex-British and ex-French territories which, after independence adopted English and French, respectively, as their national languages. It might be assumed that this demarcation has a bearing on the destination of African immigrants within Canada.

Since independence many students from Africa have come to Canada to study. Some of them do not return to their home countries after completing their studies. Others go back home but return to Canada later (Glaser 1978; Henderson 1970; UN 1971). What kind of students stay-on in or come back to Canada and why?

Some African countries have had a large share of political problems as has been reflected in coups, counter-coups, independence wars, civil wars, and other minor conflicts. Their impact on intracontinental migration has been enormous (ECA 1981, Draft; Gould 1974). How have these problems affected immigration of Africans to Canada? Can any relationships be established between these problems and the volume of immigration?

Canada is a senior member of the Commonwealth and it liberalized its immigration policy towards immigrants from ex-British colonies only in the 1960s at the time the United Kingdom was tightening it (Jones and Smith 1970; Richmond 1976). What impact did this overture have on African immigration?

The present study will attempt to find answers to some of these questions.

C. Hypotheses

In developing the research project on African immigration to Canada since 1946, the following hypotheses have been formulated:

1. Northern Africa has consistently been sending more immigrants to Canada than any other region in Africa. (Northern Africa has the longest tradition of immigration to Canada apart from South Africa.)
2. Political and economic conditions in Africa played a dominant role among the causes of African immigration to Canada and there was a direct relationship between the changing situation in Africa and the intensity of African immigration.
3. Canadian immigration policy changes have been the greatest determining factor in African immigration to Canada since World War II in terms of its volume and composition.
4. The proportion of highly qualified African immigrants to Canada has been increasing since 1962.
5. African immigrants were constantly better educated than other immigrants to Canada.
6. The economic well-being of African immigrants improved as a result of the move.
7. The dispersed nature of settlement of African immigrants minimized their impact upon the host society.
8. The impact of immigration from Africa was insignificant in terms of volume but noticeable in terms of quality.

D. Data Sources

The Canadian Government maintains good records of immigrants that are admitted into the country. The following information about characteristics of the immigrants is collected and published annually: country of last (or former) residence, country of citizenship, age and sex compositions, intended destinations, and intended occupations. There are also various cross-tabulations of the above categories. The data are contained in *Immigration Statistics* which have been published over time by various Government agencies: 1956-1965 by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 1966-1976 by the Department of Manpower and Immigration, and from 1977 by the Department of Employment and Immigration. Table 1.1 gives the information available on Africa.

Apart from published data, some special tabulations were solicited and received from the Department of Employment and Immigration in Ottawa.

Background information on Black immigration to Canada was obtained by looking at the microfilms on official correspondence on immigration at the Provincial Museum and Archives in Alberta.

Richmond and Kalbach (1980, p.127) have stated that, "No other data source could provide as consistent a set of data for the population as a whole as that provided by the [Canadian] decennial and quinquennial national censuses." Unfortunately the census publications have not been used in this study, because although they include tabulations on origin, mother tongue, birth place, citizenship and date of immigration, African immigration has been placed in the "Rest" or "Others" categories. Efforts to get some special tabulations from Statistics Canada yielded no help because, even there, data on African immigration *per se* are not filed.

General reading on immigration into Canada and the data from the Department of Employment and Immigration were supplemented by a series of interviews conducted by the author among African immigrants in Edmonton. Since the number of immigrants in Edmonton is small no questionnaire was sent out. Instead the author conducted in-depth interviews either in the homes of respondents or at their places of work with those who were identified. (See Appendix A.) The interviews consisted of six sections. The first section simply solicited general information on the characteristics of the immigrants – their sex, age, educational attainment before and after immigrating, country and year of

TABLE 1.1 CANADIAN IMMIGRATION STATISTICS, 1956-1979

CATEGORY AND PERIOD	AFRICAN COUNTRIES INCLUDED
Ethnic origin and country of last permanent residence 1956-1966	Egypt, Rhodesia and Nyasaland[a], South Africa, Africa n.e.s.[b]
1957-1966	Algeria, Morocco
Ethnic origin and country of citizenship[c] 1958-1966	Egypt, Morocco, Rhodesia and Nyasaland,[a] South Africa, Tunisia, Africa n.e.s.[b]
Country of last permanent residence and destination 1962-1972	Algeria, Egypt, Morocco, Rhodesia and Nyasaland,[a] South Africa, Tunisia, Africa n.e.s.[b]
1973-1979	All countries
Country of last permanent residence, Age group and Sex 1962-1972	Algeria, Egypt, Morocco, Rhodesia and Nyasaland,[a] South Africa, Tunisia, Africa n.e.s.[b]
1973-1979	All countries
Country of citizenship and country of (former) last permanent residence 1967-1973	Egypt, Morocco, South Africa, Tunisia, Africa n.e.s.[b]
1970-1973	Algeria
1974-1979	All countries
Country of last permanent residence by groups of intended occupations 1965-1979	Most of the countries, Africa n.e.s.[b]

(Cont.)

Table 1.1 (Cont.)

Notes:

a - Till 1964 when the countries were split into Malawi, Zambia and Rhodesia (1980 - Zimbabwe).

b - n.e.s. means "not elsewhere specified." Previously divided into "Africa British" and "Africa not British."

c - Country of citizenship does not include African countries except Egypt and South Africa (1973-1979). African countries fall into the "Others" part of the category.

Source: Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, Immigration Statistics, 1956-1979.

birth, citizenship, marital status, number of children, and country of last permanent residence. Section two asked questions about factors that led to the decision to immigrate. Also, if the respondents were married at the time of immigrating they were asked if they came alone. Were they working before coming to Canada? Did they consider the job satisfactory? Were the jobs they were doing in Canada the first ones? The third section was concerned with the choice of destination. How many alternative places did the respondents consider? How did they come to learn about Canada? Why did they choose Edmonton? The fourth section asked questions about migration histories of the respondents. When did they come to Canada? Have they ever stayed in another foreign country? Did they have relatives or friends living in Edmonton or the area they moved to before coming to Edmonton? The fifth section solicited information on integration of respondents in their jobs and neighbourhoods. Are they still in contact with people back in Africa? Have they acquired certain property which can make them identify themselves with Canada? Do they belong to any organization(s)? Lastly, the respondents were asked about their probable future migratory plans. Are they contemplating leaving Edmonton, for which town or country? And if they had to go back to Africa under what circumstances could they go?

The initial interest in this study was developed when four students at the University of Alberta introduced themselves to the author as landed immigrants. Unfortunately, these persons graduated and left Edmonton for other provinces before they could be interviewed. Nonetheless, one interview led to another until thirteen were interviewed.

E. Methodology

Since the Canadian immigration policy is a major factor discussed in this study, analysis of postwar African immigration will follow the four principal periods of immigration according to the changes in immigration rules and regulations except for the 1950s which will be treated as one period. The periods are: 1946-1961, 1962-1966, 1967-1975, 1976 to date.

Data from the Department of Employment and Immigration have been used in the analysis of patterns of flows of African immigration. Since it is impossible to discuss migration from all countries separately it was decided to divide the African continent into five regions according to the United Nations' classification (Figure 1.1) Furthermore, as stated above African countries can be grouped into Anglophone and Francophone Africa. This is the classification the Canadian Government uses in disbursing its bilateral development assistance to African countries. Anglophone countries are: Angola, Botswana, Egypt (before 1955 Egypt was included with "Africa not British"), Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Somali, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Francophone countries are: Algeria, Benin, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Libya, Malagasy, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Togo, Tunisia, Upper Volta, Western Sahara and Zaire. This classification is designed to determine whether or not English- or French-origin has a bearing on destination in Canada.

Edmonton interviews were conducted primarily to study the decision-making processes and the integration of African immigrants in Canada. Appendix A lists the questions which respondents were asked. The questions were deliberately left open-ended (unstructured) in order to avoid suggestive answers to the respondents. However, all the questions listed were not always asked because some of the questions did not apply to particular respondents.

Concluding parts of the study deal with the consequences of African migration since this is one of the main objectives of this research.

F. Literature Review

At any given place of residence an individual is constantly exposed to various factors, some of which inhibit movement and others which encourage it. He receives numerous positive and negative impulses from different potential areas of destination, and whether he decides to move or stay depends on his evaluation of the factors. Migration finally takes place when he believes that it would be more beneficial or preferable to move than to stay.

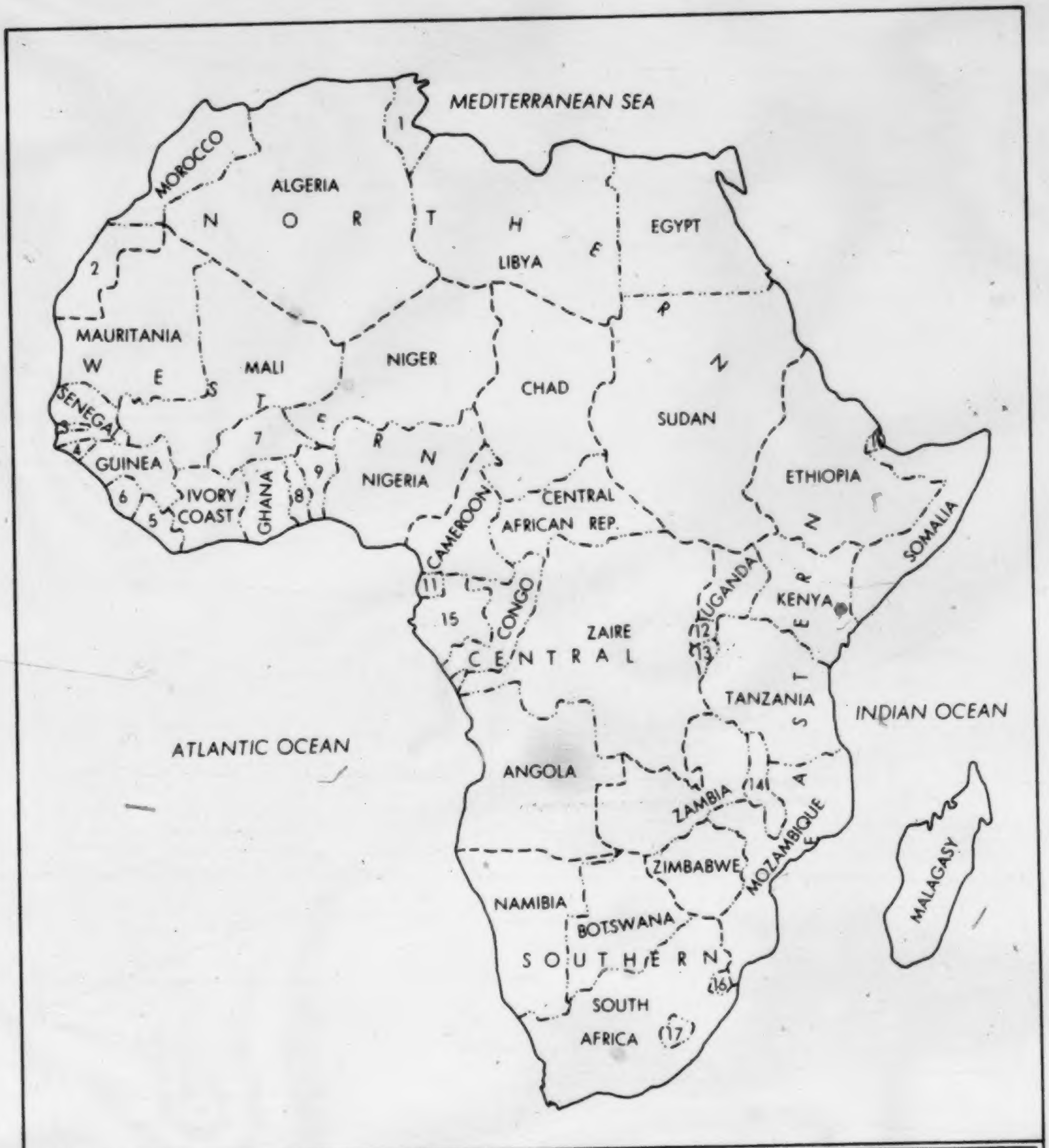

MEDITERRANEAN SEA
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
1
N O R T H E R N
LIBYA
EGYPT
2
MAURITANIA
W E S T E R N
MALI
NIGER
CHAD
SUDAN
SENEGAL
7
GUINEA
6
5
IVORY COAST
GHANA
8
9
NIGERIA
CAMEROON
CENTRAL AFRICAN REP.
ETHIOPIA
SOMALIA
10
11
15
CONGO
ZAIRE
C E N T R A L
UGANDA
KENYA
12
13
TANZANIA
E A S T E R N
INDIAN OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ANGOLA
ZAMBIA
14
MOZAMBIQUE
MALAGASY
ZIMBABWE
NAMIBIA
BOTSWANA
S O U T H E R N
16
SOUTH AFRICA
17

FIGURE 1.1 AFRICA: REGIONS AND COUNTRIES

1	TUNISIA	11	GABON
2	WESTERN SAHARA	12	RWANDA
3	GAMBIA	13	BURUNDI
4	GUINEA-BISSAU	14	MALAWI
5	LIBERIA	15	EQUATORIAL GUINEA
6	SIERRA LEONE	16	SWAZILAND
7	UPPER VOLTA	17	LESOTHO
8	TOGO		
9	BENIN		
10	DJIBOUTI		

-·-·- National boundary
- - - Regional boundary

500 0 500 1000 1500 miles
500 0 500 1000 1500 2000 2500 kilometres

Ravenstein (1885, 1889) pioneered the work on factors which influence migration. His work provides broad generalizations on the characteristics of migrants and their origins and destinations. Basing his work on an analysis of birth place data on the British Census Ravenstein concluded that:

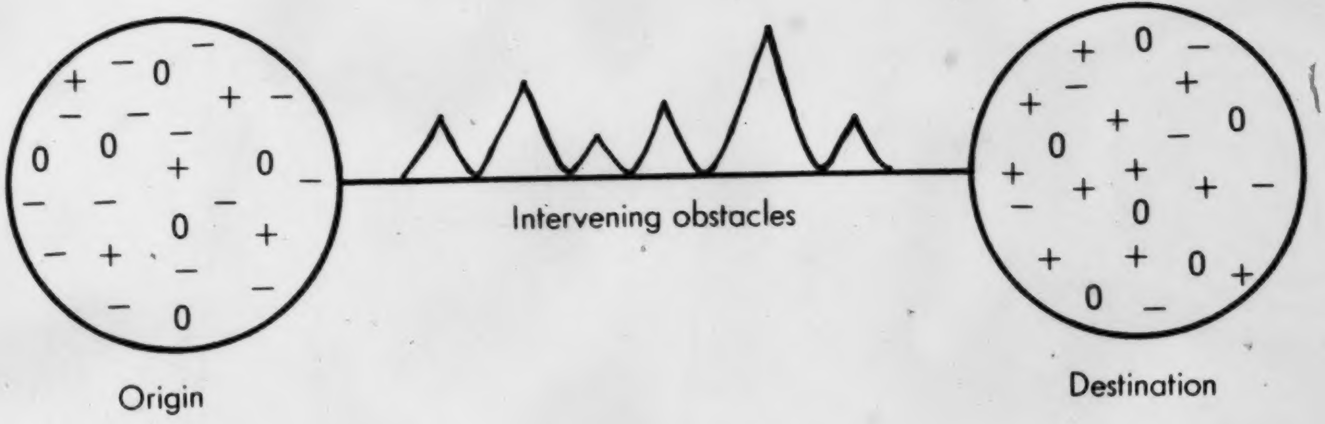
1. -most migrants move only short distances, especially from agricultural areas to centres of commerce and industry (i.e., rural-urban migration);
2. -the volume of migration decreases with distance, but increases with the development of commerce, industry and transportation (i.e., modernization);
3. -migration has a tendency to occur in stages. For instance, the inhabitants of an area surrounding an industrial or commercial centre move into it while their places are filled by people from more remote areas;
4. -each main migration current produces a counter-current. The counter-current consists of disappointed migrants as well as other migrants;
5. -most long-distance migrants go to the larger cities;
6. -migrants are generally adults;
7. -females are more migratory than males, although the latter dominate in long-distance migration;
8. -the major causes of migration are economic.

Ravenstein's work has influenced many researchers, and most notably, Lee (1966) who has reformulated and refined Ravenstein's work into a general theoretical framework.

Lee suggested a bipolar setting of areas of origin and destination and stated that migration can be viewed within the framework of factors associated with (1) the area of origin, (2) the area of destination, (3) intervening obstacles and (4) the migrants themselves (see Figure 1.2).

According to Lee the volume of migration varies with the degree of diversity between areas, diversity of people, fluctuations in the economy and the state of progress in the area; and that it is related to the difficulty of surmounting the intervening obstacles. He also stated that the volume and rate of migration tend to increase, *ceteris paribus*, with time and with the state of progress in an area or country. He further suggested that migration tends to take place in well-defined streams and that for each stream there is a counter-stream. The efficiency of the stream (the ratio of the stream to

FIGURE 1.2 ORIGIN AND DESTINATION AND INTERVENING OBSTACLES IN MIGRATION


Intervening obstacles
Origin
Destination

+ -Attracting or positive factors

0 -Neutral factors

— -Repulsing or negative factors

Source: After Lee 1966.

the counter-stream) is high if the reasons for migrating are mainly negative factors at the origin and if the intervening obstacles encountered are great. The efficiency is low if there is not much differentiation between the origin and destination. Generally, the efficiency is high in prosperous times and low in times of diversity. In addition Lee stated that migration is a very selective process varying with people of different ages, sex, educational qualifications, marital status, occupation, life cycle stages, and the like.

The intervening obstacles act as breaks to migration. Personal (individual perceptual and behavioural) factors, economic, political, social, cultural reasons all influence the decision to migrate and the decision to choose the destination. A counter-stream may be induced by the above factors as well as by the disappearance of positive factors at the destination, by the emergence of new opportunities at the origin which were not previously conceived of or exploited, or simply because permanent residence at the destination was never intended in the first place.

Although Ravenstein followed an inductive approach and Lee a deductive one they both have one view in common, which is that the migration process is influenced by a series of spatial, temporal, human and behavioural constraints.

Another author worth mentioning who provided a general framework in migration studies was Petersen who distinguished between four migratory forces (1975 pp.291-301). These are (1) the ecological push associated with primitive nomadism, (2) the migratory policy associated with whether the decision to migrate is made because the person is impelled (pressurized to move by some external force but still has some power to decide whether to move or not) or forced (the person has no choice but to go), (3) higher aspirations where the migrant is free to decide whether to go or not and where to go, and (4) social momentum with regard to whether the move leads to mass settlement or urbanisation. Factors (2) and (3) are important in international migration. Further, Petersen classified these migratory forces into innovating and conservative migration:

> "Some people migrate as a means of achieving the new. Let us term such migration *innovating*. Others migrate in response to a change in conditions, in order to retain what they had; they move geographically in order to remain where they are in all other respects. Let us term such migration *conservative*" (p.318).

Zelinsky (1971) proposed the hypothesis of mobility transition which was designed to explain long-term trends in types and volume of movement in space. He observed that

> *"There are definite, patterned regularities in the growth of personal mobility through space-time during recent history, and these regularities comprise an essential component of the modernization process"(pp. 221 - 222).*

Zelinsky stated that the mobility transition is related to and parallel with the vital transition. He hypothesized that as the society modernizes it passes through five distinct stages, namely: (1) the premodern society, (2) the early transitional society, (3) the late transitional society, (4) the advanced society and (5) the super-advanced society. Since he was concerned with spatial mobility he stated that a society passes from a stage of relatively limited mobility to progressively higher rates with each step into the modernization process. Both form and intensity of mobility increase. International migration begins and assumes greater significance in the early transitional society stage when major outflows of emigrants occur to available and attractive foreign destinations. There is a small but significant number of skilled workers, technicians and professionals from advanced countries. However during the late transitional society stage the emigration of such individuals either declines or ceases . There is also a lessening flow of migrants to colonization frontiers. In the advanced society there is a significant net immigration of unskilled and semi-skilled workers from relatively underdeveloped countries. There may exist a significant international migration or circulation of skilled and professional personnel whose volume and direction of flow depend on specific conditions. In the super-advanced society there is still a possibility of further immigration of relatively unskilled workers from the less developed areas. At the same time there is a strict control of both internal and external migration.

Zelinsky's hypothesis has been tested by various researchers, notably Fuchs and Demko (1978), Bedford (1973), Skeldon (1977), and Staveley (1973)(Zelinsky 1979). It has been found that although the hypothesis seems to offer a valid general descriptive statement on mobility it does not meet all situations since as the hypothesis was first formulated it is ethnocentric and does not account for areas where political control over migration is exercised, or for the situations pertaining to underdeveloped countries. In the light of this work, could there be a way whereby African international migration can fit into Zelinsky's hypothesis? Where among the five stages does African immigration to Canada lie?

Spatial Aspects of Migration

Traditionally geographers have been interested in the spread or diffusion of phenomena, such as innovations, information and people over space and time. Their studies have focused on the identification of generative processes by which the observed spatial patterns come into existence (see bibliographic reviews by Brown 1968, Olsson 1965a and Shaw 1975). The studies by Hagerstrand (1953 and 1957 especially) have encouraged interest in spatial diffusion. Other researchers who followed in this area include Morrill (1965), Moore (1966) and Olsson (1965a, 1965b).

The impact of distance upon migration has been noted among geographers. In studies which have highlighted the theoretical relationships between the volume of migration and distance travelled from the origin to the destination, distance is seen as the principal deterrent to migration. These studies have led to the development of a number of spatial interaction models, notably: the gravity model, the population potential model and the intervening migrants model.

Zipf introduced a gravity model in 1946. The principal aim of the gravity model is to predict the amount of interaction (e.g., movement of people) between two places, i and j, in a given period of time. The gravity model suggests two basic relationships: first that the movement between two places increases as the size of one or both increases. Secondly, the greater the distance between the two places, the lesser the movement between them. Efforts have been made to relate migration to urban centres and the model has been developed such that it can be adequately described by means of field analysis. Thus:

$M = f(1/D^{n})$

where

M = migration

D = distance

n = some power estimated from the data;

and the number of migrants is related to the size of the urban centre population such that:

$$M_{ij} = k \frac{P_i P_j}{D^{a}_{ij}}$$

Where

Mij = migration from place i to j,

P = population at places i and j,

D = distance between places i and j,

and, k = a constant relating volume of migration at any specific time.

The gravity model has been tested by several researchers. Olsson (1965b) investigating the intensity of migration between urban centres in Sweden verified the hypothesis that migrants from small places moved shorter distances than migrants from larger centres, and that for migration flows from larger places than the place of origin, the migration distances decreased with the size of the place of origin and with the size of destination. Others who have used this model have criticized, questioned and refined it. These refinements can be found in the works of Carrothers (1956), Isard and Brahmall (1960), Olsson (1965a), Rogers (1968) and Sheppard (1978). Shaw (1975, p.48) indicated that the gravity model does not appear to work in cases of professional migrants. The model cannot be used to explain why migration rates vary with characteristics of migrants (Speare 1974).

Carrothers (1956) introduced the population potential model which seeks to measure the attractive power a given location has over others. According to him the potential exerted on place i (Vi) by a series of locations j,..k−1 can be expressed by:

$$V_i = \sum_{j=1}^{k-1} \frac{P_j}{D_{ij}} \qquad j \neq i$$

where

Vi = potential of place i,

Pj = size of another place j,

Dij = distance between places i and j,

In other words, the potential exerted on point i equals the sum of the ratios of points j to k−1 and to the distances between point i and other points j to k−1. However, a place does not exert potential on itself. The population potential model has been used in the studies measuring the changing centre of gravity of a given population. Stewart and Warntz (1958) and Neft (1966) used the model in producing the population potential maps of the world, the United States and the United Kingdom.

In contrast to the gravity model and the population potential model Stouffer (1940, 1960) developed the intervening opportunities and competing migrants model. Stouffer's main criticism of the other models was that they overemphasised the role of distance in migration. According to Stouffer, the number of people moving a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and is inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities (1940) and the number of competing migrants from other sources (1960). Thus:

$$I_{ij} = a \frac{(P_i P_j)^{b_1}}{(O_{ij})^{b_2} (C_{ij})^{b_3}}$$

where

Iij = interaction between places i and j,

Pi and Pj = population of places i and j,

Oij = number of intervening opportunities measured by the total number of out-migrants in the circle centred midway between i and j and passing through i and j,

Cij = number of competing migrants measured by the total number of in-migrants in the circle centred on j and passing through i,

a, b_1, b_2, b_3 = constants.

This means that in terms of migration a place with more job opportunities may attract more migratory flows than a place with few opportunities. Distance in this case may be measured in terms of social distance or travel time. In a study of migration between the United States metropolitan areas of at least 250,000 inhabitants between 1955 and 1960 Galle and Taeuber (1966) using Stouffer's model accounted for over 90 per cent of variation in their migration measure. They also concluded that a log transformed distance or gravity model was inferior to the Stouffer model in accounting for the variation. On the other hand, Anderson (1955) in a study of intermetropolitan migration concluded that there were minor differences between the two models.

Nonetheless, spatial interaction models (and especially the gravity model) have their weaknesses. Shaw (1975) pointed out that:

> "It will suffice ... to merely point out that the most immediate problems in the gravity formulations lie in the inadequacy of its assumptions. The first and most highly questionable assumption is that all places are populated by standard people with identical needs, tastes, and contacts. A second is that interaction intensity decreases over distance systematically in all directions. Finally, it is apparent that not all migrants seek advantages that are a function of population size as is demonstrated by return migration, compulsory moves, and migration of the highly specialized"(p.49).

Echoing the same note Zelinsky (1979) stated that:

> "Among other shortcomings, the gravity model of migration works poorly at the micro, intra-urban scale, and ... offers diminishing insights into long-distance migrations occurring in the advanced nations within the past dozen years. It is by definition, a-temporal, operating in an historical vacuum, and seems to suffer from some inherent logical flaws, not the least of which is a failure to account for either the initial or terminal state of the system"(pp.167-168).

Wong (1979, p.19) doubted if a theory developed in a physical discipline can be applied to explain human behaviour. He argued that even if an empirical regularity could be noted, social scientists have not yet been able to furnish a sound theoretical explanation for it. In this regard, models remain no more than mechanical devices applied to social data since concepts like mass, potential, inertia, etc., have very little application and concepts like intervening opportunities and competing migrants are not only imperfect but also difficult to operationalize.

Therefore, the above models need a great deal of refinement in order to make them operational for a subject like international migration. As predictive models they fail to do what they purport to do. But as descriptive models they offer concepts which can be used in analysing the data. However, if they have to be useful to international migration they need to incorporate other variables including government policies. Speare (1974) has stressed the role receiving countries play in admitting immigrants. He has argued that if the distribution of moves could be plotted on an involuntary-voluntary continuum most international moves would probably be spread out along the continuum with a larger number near the involuntary than the voluntary end (p.89). In the present world system transportation and communication have been made faster and cheaper. There are two studies worth mentioning in this context. In their separate findings Rose (1958) and Stub (1962) concluded that when distances travelled by migrants are disaggregated in terms of their characteristics it was found that more specialized migrants tended to move longer distances. This may be extended to the studies in international migration where certain migrants by virtue of their attributes like educational training, may only be employed in certain countries with facilities akin to such training. Intervening opportunities tend to limit the distance travelled for the lower status groups. Moreover, in international migration not only distance is an obstacle, but also a change in culture, language, etc; making it a different form of movement from internal migration for which the models may work (Speare 1974). There are indications that there are possibilities of integrating existing migration theories (Pryor 1981; Shaw 1975). Pryor (1981) especially has argued that several insights can be obtained by examining similarities of the two types of migration.

Spatial and Subjective Aspects of Migration

Recently there has been a significant shift towards the consideration of behavioural aspects of migration. The basic question asked is: What evaluative process does an individual go through before he finally decides to move? To answer this question, the focus is put on the basic decision-making unit which may be the individual, the family or the household.

Wolpert (1965) introduced the concept of place utility. He suggested that each individual has a threshold of net utility or an aspiration level which adjusts itself on the basis of experience. The threshold of net place utility and the decision to migrate and the decision to choose the destination are affected by one's stage of life. When the person comes to a point where he is no longer willing to adapt to the new situation he migrates to a place he feels his utility will increase. Thus information flows are very important in migration decision-making processes. He stated that:

> The generation of population migration may be considered to be the result of a decision process which aims at altering the future in some way and recognises differences in utility associated with different places... Thus, the flow of population reflects a subjective utility evaluation by individuals"(p. 162).

The concept of utility and associated notions have been used by other researchers, notably Brown and Moore (1970), Brown *et al* (1970), Pryor (1976) and Roseman (1976). All agree that information flows about alternative places are vital in migration decisions. Information gathering processes include direct contacts (e.g., a previous visit), personal information exchange (e.g., letters, relatives, friends) and/or mass media (e.g., books, newspapers, broadcasts, advertisements). However, information which is not collected on the basis of first-hand experience is limited.

Pryor (1976) reformulated place utility as the subjectively satisfying place utility (SSPU). He also gave a detailed discussion on the concepts of activity space, awareness space, aspiration space, and search space. He underscored the point that one's attitudes, experiences, perceptions and reactions to his surroundings are the key factors in the formulation of migratory decisions.

The authors also agreed that the decision to seek a new residence differs from the decision to choose the destination. The two are related but not the same. The decision to migrate precedes that to choose the destination. Wolpert (1965) suggested further that competing destinations are considered sequentially rather than simultaneously.

It is noted that the behaviouralist approach to the explanation of why migration occurs does not provide a satisfactory set of predictive models and that it is unlikely that it will do so. According to White and Woods:

> "In some ways it is unlikely that it [the behaviouralist approach] will be able to produce such models for some time to come, for the behaviouralist ideas are only fully applicable at the level of the individual decision-maker, while prediction is only possible in the social sciences at the level of aggregates. Nevertheless, the examination of the importance of the individual decision-maker in migration provides a satisfactory background to the understanding of the selectivity of migration (sometimes known as the study of migration differentials); of why migration may occur in specific spatial patterns of common origin and destination linked by similar migrant participants; and of why migration cannot be in any sense an optimizing process in a situation of imperfect information availability"(1980, p.12).

In the present study the behaviouralist approach has important implications. Especially significant is the fact that Canada is just one of various alternative destinations. Why would people from Africa come to Canada? Why do they migrate at all? These are important questions that the behaviouralist approach attempts to answer.

Why Does Migration Occur?

This question to a large extent has been answered in the discussion above. Pryor (1976, p.105) has stated that, "Just as people do not move when there are good enough reasons to stay, so they do not stay when there are sufficient reasons (and opportunity) to move." Migration occurs because an individual believes that he will be more satisfied in his new residence than in the place from which he comes. White and Woods (1980) have stated that

> "An important emphasis must be placed on the word 'believe'. Migration occurs as a result of decisions made by individuals in the light of what they perceive the objective world to be like: it does not matter if the migrant holds an erroneous view – it is that erroneous view that is acted upon rather than the objective real-world situation"(p.7).

Economic opportunities as they are perceived at the origin and destination are of overriding importance for the majority of migrants in their migration decisions. But people migrate for other reasons – be they social, political, cultural, psychological, religious, etc. Moreover some individuals are born-movers (they are chronic movers) while others are born-stayers (Davies 1966).

Regardless of the line of inquiry (as represented by individual academic disciplines) it has been observed that young adults – those in their teens, twenties and early thirties – are more migratory than their older counterparts. The interpretation has been that the young are able to adapt more easily to new situations and are more readily disposed to taking advantage of new opportunities occurring elsewhere. Thomas D. (1958) observed that over the 1850-1950 period net gains in the inter-state migrants in the United States were concentrated in the age group 20-29 years. Similar findings were reported by Shryock, Jr. (1964), Caldwell (1968), Hamilton (1964) and Goldstein (1964).

Unlike age selectivity, sex selectivity is less uniform over time and space. Beginning with Ravenstein's 1885 and 1889 studies it has been held that males are more migratory than females over long distances (Thomas 1958; George 1970; Caldwell 1968, 1970). However, in modern movements females and males have almost the same representations (George 1970).

It has been observed that level of education and migration are positively correlated. The interpretation is that education acts as the key to information about opportunities, amenities, etc., which exist beyond the immediate confines of one's activity space. It has been especially noted that educational selectivity becomes more pronounced with distance (Bell 1980; Fein 1965; Hamilton 1959; Hamilton and Suval 1965; Stone 1969; Thomas 1958).

Migration and occupational status are also positively correlated. Richmond (1969b) has stated that whereas the supply of and demand for unskilled labour can be met within a local labour market, the demand for and supply of skilled labour cannot and therefore it transcends the local, regional and national boundaries in various cases. Thus it is stated that professionals, administrative and technical personnel as well as those in processing jobs are more migratory than people in other occupations. Among these groups the professionals are the most migratory with the exception of doctors, dentists, businessmen and merchants who might have built a steady clientele, equipment and inventory. The view that migration and occupational status are positively correlated is supported by Morrison (1975), Rose (1958), Stone (1969) and Stub (1962). Even in studies of residential mobility it has been concluded that professionals are more migratory than non-professionals (Deutschman 1972). Shaw (1975) stated that a possible explanation for low rates of migration among members of low skilled jobs may lie in their relative lack of skills and low level of education which operate as barriers to equal opportunity to be mobile:

> "That is, if a potential migrant requires a job upon relocation but the skill and educational requirements at alternative places of residence are generally higher than he can offer, then regardless of his dissatisfaction with his present situation, he may be forced to remain immobile"(p.26).

Although migrants include a high proportion of married couples and their children it has been observed that single people are more migratory than married people. Marriage is also another reason for migrating since it leads the newly-weds to leave their parents' homes. Studies which support this view includes those by George (1970), Alvarez (1967), and Long (1973). It has been observed that among married couples those with smaller families tend to be more migratory. The larger the family is, the more ties it has and it is less likely that it will migrate. This becomes more difficult when the individual family concerned has children of school-going age (Ladinsky 1967; Long 1973).

Lansing and Meuller (1967) in their analysis of the geographical mobility of labour in the United States concluded that people without their own homes are twice as migratory as those with homes. Deutschman (1972) also supports this view. However, questions arise as to whether it is home ownership which impedes migration or if it is mobility expectations that impede home ownership.

In an effort to interrelate the importance of various demographic and sociological factors in explaining the propensity of an individual to migrate, researchers, notably sociologists, have suggested the relevance of one's position in the domestic life cycle and career patterns. Domestic life cycle provides a particular orientation to the outside world and its influences and specific opportunities at different stages of the life cycle.

Demographic factors like age, sex, and marital status in conjunction with such factors as family size, home ownership, career patterns, etc., tend to influence an individual's propensity to migrate (Ladinsky 1967; Lee 1966; Morrison 1975; Roseman 1971; Wolpert 1965). There are various stages of life which can be identified. Ladinsky proposed stages associated with: childhood (preschool age), education, marriage, family formation, career and retirement. Alvarez interpreted the characteristics of migrants and the timing of migration within the following life cycle: beginning of the family (recently married, no children); childbearing family (oldest child of two and a half years); childbearing family divided into preschool children as dependants, school children as dependants, and teenage children as dependants; family as a launching centre; the empty nest family; and the aging family.

Morrison (1969) stated that there are basically three sources of constraints on the decision to migrate. These constraints are (1) the life cycle, (2) the structural conditions associated with specific occupations, and (3) prior experience of moving. He stated that:

> "Mobility is evidently a cumulative process like fertility, linked to past experience as well as to current circumstances. Prior experience with mobility appears to foster a degree of learning and to facilitate subsequent movement...One possible explanation is that decision thresholds may be initially high for persons who have never migrated in their adult years. Once a move has been made and chastity vanished, so to speak, a process of learning apparently blunts subsequent inertia"(pp.13-14).

Van Arsdol *et al* (1968) echoed the same view and concluded that people who have moved once are more apt to move again. Those who have not moved before are oriented toward continued stability and are likely to stay in the same location.

Toney (1976) concluded that economic conditions in a given location do not exert the same stimulus for out-migration as for in-migration. He further observed that length of stay in a given residence is positively correlated with the existence of previous familial ties and contacts. In a later study he concluded that social ties play a more significant role in selecting destinations with low levels of economic opportunities than in movements to high opportunity areas.

What is the significance of these migration differentials to African immigration to Canada? Why do people from Africa come to Canada? These are two of the questions which will be addressed in this study, and the studies cited above offer relevant perspective for the researcher.

Consequences of Migration

A world map of population distribution reflects past migrations of human populations and the patterns of both past and present natural population growth. At a macro scale it can be noted that Australia and North America, in terms of population distribution and density, would be a lot different today from what they are without massive European immigration. On a micro scale, migration has played a significant role in the process of urbanization throughout the world. In some industrially developed countries migration has led to rural depopulation.

However, migration has other effects. It is true that it is individuals who migrate. It is also true that numbers of migrants are important in migration studies. But it is also important to realise that when people migrate they take their attributes with them. Each migrant has certain characteristics which include demographic attributes (e.g., age, sex, marital status, family size), social attributes (e.g., intelligence, social status, education, cultural backgrounds including language and religion), occupational and economic attributes, as well as attitudinal orientations and beliefs that may differ markedly from those at the destinations. Although some of these attributes cannot change (e.g., sex, ethnicity) many of them do (e.g., occupation, family status, attitudes towards social and cultural behaviour, language, religion, etc.) and such changes may affect decisions for further migration.

As has already been pointed out, migration creates patterns of flows of various shapes, volumes, lengths and directions. Apart from affecting the intervening space migration modifies the existing spatial patterns of human organization and creates new ones. By so doing migration affects both areas of origin and destination as well as the migrant himself. White and Woods (1980, p.2) have stated that such a restructuring and redistribution of the characteristics can be interpreted as the geographical impact of migration. They have argued that:

> "The investigation of the patterns of migratory flow, coupled with examinations of the effects of migration on origin and destination areas, must be the geographer's chief concern in the analysis of migration impact, for it is in these fields that migration has the most obvious repercussions on the spatial organization of human activities. It is in these fields that the relevance of the consideration of migrant selectivity becomes clear through the role that

such selection processes play in explaining migration impacts"(p.56).

It is the view of the present author that this is a fundamental point worth consideration in migration studies relating to Africans. Migration affects the migrants, areas of origin and areas of destination in various ways. This is so because human experience and organization have manifold effects and feedback loops which operate in the migration system. A number of concepts and terms which are considered important and which will be used in this project are discussed in the following section before going into the detailed discussion.

G. Basic Concepts in the Study of Migration

Migration is a form of mobility. Whereas mobility is a general concept which includes all types of movements of people in physical space through time, for any distance and duration, as contrasted with social mobility which refers to changes in a person's socioeconomic status (Zelinsky 1971), migration is a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. Migration involves the detachment of a person from organizing activities at one place (area of origin or origin) to organizing them at some other place (area of destination or destination).

When the movement involves crossing a national boundary the terms emigration and immigration are used depending on whether it is seen from the point of view of the origin or destination. Transoceanic or intercontinental migration is a special but not separate kind of external migration. Net migration is the balance between immigration and emigration, and the balance between the two is referred to as net immigration or net emigration depending on whether immigration or emigration is larger. A group of immigrants who have a common origin and destination in a given period of migration is called an immigration stream (or an immigration current). Usually an immigration stream has a counter-stream - an opposite flow of migrants.

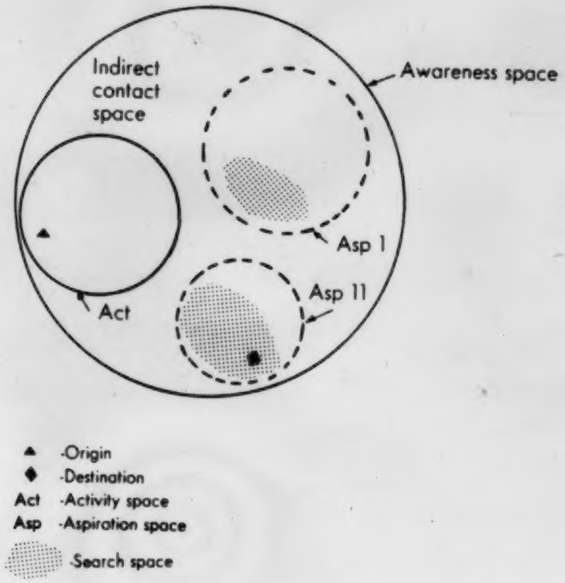
Migration which has occurred between birth and the time of the survey or census is called lifetime immigration. A lifetime immigrant is that individual whose current country of residence is different from his country of birth regardless of his intervening moves.

In certain cases migration by a given group of immigrants does not occur at once. There are primary and secondary immigrants, leaders and followers in the migration process. Primary immigration may involve a male immigrant in search of employment or a better standard of living in a different country. He might move with his wife and children but he usually goes alone and sends for them once he is established. Later neighbours come to learn about new opportunities and they too may decide to move. This process is known as chain migration.

Place utility is the individual's degree of satisfaction with a given place of residence. Pryor (1976) has termed it the subjectively satisfying place utility (SSPU) which he defined as what the individual "thinks he is evaluating, and what he hopes he is optimizing in his migration decision-making" (p.107). Associated concepts of place utility are the action (or activity) space, awareness space, aspiration space, and search space.

Activity space implies a set of locations which are the immediate subjective environment with which an individual is familiar through direct contact as a result of past activities. The awareness space is the indirect contact space – a set of locations which is perceived by the immigrant through indirect but sustained information inputs like acquaintances or the mass media. It may be an area with which the immigrant has had direct contact. Aspiration space is the sub-area of the awareness space which the immigrant perceives as providing place utility. This may coincide with the current activity space or the awareness space. In most cases it overlaps the two. Search space has been defined by Pryor (1976, p.108) as the "end product area within the aspiration space in which search activity for a new residence location is considered on the basis of both direct and indirect information." (See Figure 1.3.)

FIGURE 1.3 ORGANIZATION OF MIGRATION BEHAVIOUR WITHIN SPACE


Indirect contact space
Awareness space
Asp 1
Asp 11
Act
▲ -Origin
◆ -Destination
Act -Activity space
Asp -Aspiration space
▨ -Search space

Source: After Pryor 1976, Figure 10-1.

II. AFRICAN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

On the whole, in a world of states, internal migration is controlled to a considerable extent by "those who go"; as for international migration, the choices of individuals are very much constrained by the preferences of "those who send" and "those who receive."

Aristide R. Zolberg 1978
International Migration Policies in a Changing World System
p.241

A. Introduction

Generally speaking, African immigration to other continents is a recent phenomenon which became significant only after 1960. However, in the 18th and early 19th centuries many Africans were shipped to the Americas as slaves. Between 1700 and 1860 it is estimated that about 9.5 million Africans were transported to America (Klein 1978, p.xiii). Even before then some Africans had been taken as slaves to Portugal and Spain between 1400 and 1500 and later to the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern countries. After the abolition of the slave trade there was little (if any) African immigration because of the restrictive immigration procedures of receiving countries which effectively excluded non-European immigration. Harbison (1970) identified five groups of emigrants from Africa during the late 1950s and early 1960s. These were namely: (1) Europeans who held senior administrative and technical positions in preindependent and early postindependent African countries. (2) European settlers many of whom were owners and managers of large farms or estates. (3) Non-citizen Asians in Eastern Africa who were "under pressure to migrate" through deliberate discriminatory policies. (4) A small-scale movement of Africans to international organizations -- especially the United Nations or its specialized agencies -- UNESCO, ILO, FAO and WHO in particular. (5) A movement involving the "rented" immigrants or expatriates hired on term contracts. There were very few Africans who were emigrating to developed countries at that time except for Northern African countries as will be seen below. Holmes, IV (1970) has suggested reasons why this was so. Firstly, there were very few educated Africans, and as a result only a few could emigrate. Secondly, the few educated Africans who were found at that time had ample chances to advance in their own fields to the extent of even replacing expatriates. Thirdly, because of the newly-achieved independence most of the educated Africans were filled with national pride (patriotism). Fourthly, some of them had heard of or witnessed racial discrimination abroad and feared to find themselves in such circumstances. Lastly, some of them had not gone abroad for training so that there was little or no lure for them to migrate. The situation has changed since the late 1960s when Africans began to participate in the massive international movement.

There are mainly three directions of African intercontinental migration - to Australia, Europe and North America; but the principal destination has been Europe especially France and the United Kingdom. New Zealand has also been receiving some immigrants from Africa.

Important destinations for Northern Africa have been France, Belgium, West Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland. This was especially true for Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia (the three Maghreb countries). In 1960 about 400,000 immigrants from these three countries were enumerated in industrialized countries of Europe indicating that the movement was significant even before 1960. The number increased to 1.6 million immigrants by 1975 (UN 1979b, p.91). Africans had been responding to the increased demand for labour and skills in Europe especially after World War II. Egypt has been an important source area for Australia and North America.

Beginning in the early 1970s receiving countries have been adopting restrictive immigration policies due to increasing numbers of foreigners who started to opt for permanent residence at destinations and due to the general decline of Western European economies (OECD 1979). In the case of sending countries of Northern Africa other factors have also helped to reduce the number of immigrants to Europe. Firstly, new and nearby alternate destinations within Northern Africa and the Middle East (oil-rich countries) have emerged. Secondly, some of these countries have been experiencing rising standards of living due to socioeconomic development.

Comparatively, sub-Saharan African countries generate smaller volumes of intercontinental migration than countries north of the Sahara. The largest streams come from new Commonwealth countries to the United Kingdom. The 1962 Commonwealth Immigrants Act restricted the entry of immigrants from the Commonwealth. In 1968 the absolute right of entry into the United Kingdom of British passport holders was withdrawn for those persons who did not have close connection by birth or descent with the United Kingdom citizens (Jones and Smith 1970; UN 1976). It is estimated that in 1975 there were about 176,000 immigrants from the new Commonwealth countries residing in the United Kingdom. There were also about 100,000 immigrants from the former French-speaking Western African countries in Europe (UN 1979b, p.100).

Flows to Australia, Canada and the United States are not as big as those to Europe. It is interesting to note that prior to 1970 the African immigration to Australia has been larger than to the other destinations (Table 2.1). However, in the case of Australia most of the immigrants come from Egypt, South Africa and Mauritius. Other immigrants come from the new Commonwealth countries (Pyne and Price 1976). Since the Australian immigration policy encourages immigration of Europeans it might be expected that most of the immigrants will be whites. It is no wonder then that immigrants from Egypt have been mainly Greeks, Italians, Maltese and Armenians born in Egypt (Pyne and Price 1976, pp.A22-23). Table 2.1 shows that immigration to the four destinations had been rising before 1974 although the rates of increase and the timing of largest volumes differed between the three countries. Canada has been receiving increasing numbers of African immigrants and immigration to Canada appears to have surpassed immigration to the United States since 1965.

B. Background to African Immigration to Canada

In a world of national states, governments seek to control the inflow and/or outflow of people in order to exercise and safeguard their right of territorial sovereignty. They do so by adopting an immigration and/or emigration policy. Policy in this case is defined widely to include legislated rules and regulations, administrative practices concerning them as well as related incentives and sanctions. Some countries adopt policies which either encourage or discourage emigration (e.g., liberal or coercive measures, restrictive controls, etc.). Other countries encourage or discourage immigration

TABLE 2.1 AFRICAN IMMIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA, CANADA, NEW ZEALAND AND THE UNITED STATES, 1950-1974[a]

PERIOD	AUSTRALIA		CANADA		NEW ZEALAND[b]	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
1950-1954	10.9	-	2.9	-	1.2	-
1955-1959	10.8	99.1	6.8	234.5	1.6	133.3
1960-1964	19.7	182.4	9.3	136.8	3.4	212.5
1965-1969	27.0	137.1	20.5	220.4	1.2	35.3
1970-1974	28.9	107.0	33.4	162.9	3.8	316.7
TOTAL	97.3	-	72.9	-	11.2	-

PERIOD	UNITED STATES[c]		TOTAL	
	1	2	1	2
1950-1954	4.9	-	19.9	-
1955-1959	8.2	167.4	27.4	137.7
1960-1964	9.6	117.1	42.0	153.3
1965-1969	14.2	147.9	62.9	149.8
1970-1974	29.2	205.6	95.3	151.5
TOTAL	66.1	-	247.5	-

Notes:

a - Total for the period
- - data based on region of last residence.
b - Years ending 31st March.
c - Years ending 30th June.
1 - In thousands
2 - Percentage increase over previous period.

Source: United Nations 1979a, p. 15.

, respectively, by promising and giving incentives to immigrants or by adopting negative attitudes or regulations towards immigration. Immigration policies are usually tied to economic, political, and ethnic considerations of the receiving country and the expected performance of the immigrants. On the whole, encouragement or discouragement of either emigration or immigration depends on various factors such as economic, political, cultural, social, humanitarian and their changing combinations.

African immigration to Canada proper is a recent phenomenon. In this regard it should be stated and emphasised that Black (Negro or Coloured) immigration should not be equated with African immigration. However, the general discussion of immigration of the former will help to understand the latter.

The history of Black immigration to Canada can be divided into various periods. The first Black person came as a slave in 1608. Winks (1971, pp.1–2) has written that, "Olivier Le Jeune [the slave] is not only the first Negro to whom we can give more than a name, he is the first to have been transported directly from Africa, to have been sold as a slave in New France, and apparently to have died a free man." Between 1689 and 1833 a number of Black people came to Canada as slaves and settled mainly in Montreal. Following the American War of Independence of 1776 to 1783 those Blacks who fought on the side of Britain entered Canada as 'loyalists'. After the 1812 civil war in the United States other sizeable waves of Black immigrants came to Canada as fugitives. This period marked the beginning of increasing immigration of American Blacks to Canada (Bartolo 1976; Bertley 1977; Winks 1971). Attractiveness of Canada was strengthened by the fact that the entry of Africans into the United States was prohibited with the abolition of the slave trade. Africans were then deemed undesirable. The United States started to foster their return to Africa (especially Liberia) as the number of free Blacks increased (Zolberg 1978, p.275). In Canada the number of Black immigrants continued to grow and according to the 1901 Census of Canada there were about 17,400 Negroes whose distribution was as follows:

Prince Edward Island	141
Nova Scotia	5,984
New Brunswick	1,368
Quebec	280

Ontario 8,935

Manitoba 61

Northwest Territories 37

British Columbia 532

Unorganized Territories 99. (IB A485221). [1]

However the movement of Blacks accelerated at the turn of the century. This was when the Canadian Government started to advertise abroad for immigrants to settle and farm in Western Canada. American Blacks responded to this call by selling their farms and immigrating to Alberta and Saskatchewan where they settled as homesteaders. It is difficult to give any statistics of Black immigrants because their records are not available. The only glimpses that can be had are the figures quoted by the petitioners (Appendix B). They mainly came from Oklahoma. By 1908 White settlers started worrying about further Black immigration and sent petitions to the Superintendent of Immigration and the Minister of the Interior to curtail that Black influx into Canada. The typical complaint of the petitioners was that good White settlers could not come to Western Canada because of the presence of Black immigrants. Among the most vocal groups were the various Boards of Trade across Western Canada, notably those of Edmonton, Fort Saskatchewan, Morinville and Strathcona. (See Appendix B for some of the petitions.) All of them were worded in the same manner as if they were written by the same person. The City of Edmonton was not happy about further Black immigration, either. Analysis of the petitions shows that they were both outright prejudiced and racist in nature. They pressured the Canadian Government to begin controlling, restricting and regulating entry of Black immigrants into Canada.

To this the Government responded by restricting the entry of Black immigrants as homesteaders on the pretext that they could not succeed as farmers in Canada because they were not farmers in the real sense of the word. It was alleged that Blacks were not industrious and could not make good neighbours with white settlers (see Appendix B). Moreover, even if they were good farmers in Oklahoma they could not necessarily do well in Canada because of the different soils and inhospitable climate . For instance, all the letters which were written to prospective Black immigrants by Canadian Government officials stated that the former were not considered as good farmers because of the climate.

---

[1] Unless otherwise indicated, archival sources are identified with an A-number, which is the official stamped number on documents referred to in this section. IB stands for Immigration Branch.

So, without actually legislating against Black immigration, the Government simply adopted approaches of instilling fear in the hearts of prospective immigrants. Since the latter were requesting applications and relevant information on either Western or Eastern Canada, they were answered that it was unlikely that they could do well in Canada because the climate was not congenial and for several other reasons which were not explained. They were also informed that other Black immigrants before them had immigrated to Canada and returned to the United States because they could not succeed . In spite of these methods the numbers of Blacks coming into Canada increased and continued to grow. This led to further calls for more restrictions and legislation against entry of Black immigrants. At one time the Minister of the Interior, Frank Oliver, was forced to make the following suggestion to the Governor General in Council, the person responsible for immigration legislation:

> "The undersigned has the honour to recommend that, pursuant to Sub-Section of the Immigration Act, Your Excellency in Council be pleased to order and do order as follows namely, that for a period of one year from and after the said date of said Order, the landing in Canada shall be and the same is prohibited of any immigrants belonging to the Negro race, which race is deemed unsuitable to the climate and requirements of Canada"(IB No A-number, but the suggestion was written on May 31, 1911).

This request was never implemented but administrative procedures concerning the entry of Black immigrants grew tighter and tighter. Reflecting on Black immigration in 1936, the Assistant Deputy Minister, in a memorandum to Mr. Gillmor, an official in the Immigration Branch wrote:

> "Many years ago, somewhere between 1904 and 1908, the Department found it necessary to check a trek northward of coloured people from Oklahoma. They were mostly half breed Indian negroes. There were two methods used to curtail that movement, possibly both are referred to on the files though I think there will not be very much about the second. The first method was to pay doctors at certain ports of entry, notably Emerson and North Portal, a fee for examining these prospective immigrants. The fee, I think was paid on rejections only. The second method was to employ a coloured bishop or other dignitary of the negro church who did some propaganda work amongst his own people. I think he was brought up to Western Canada on a trip, probably in the winter time. However, one of the stories he used to tell was that he had seen the coloured people frozen along the roadside, just like fence posts, and that they would remain in that position until the spring thaw out. It runs in my mind that we paid him $60 a month and possibly some travelling expenses, although I am not sure about the latter. I would like, if possible to get the details of this. If you cannot locate anything, I may be able

> to get it from W. J. White, who is still living and was the prime mover in the arrangement" (No IB A-number, but the memorandum was written on 27th October, 1936).

The immigration officials even found it easier to deal with Black immigrants who were applying from a country other than their country of citizenship or country of birth. For instance, in reply to Chubb, a prospective Black immigrant in Oklahoma, in March 1911, Blair, then Secretary of the Immigration Branch, wrote:

> "The action of the Department in strict enforcement of the Immigration regulations has been taken on account of it being general opinion that coloured people are not suited to the climate and other conditions here. As regards your own case, I may say that our regulations debar your entry. Immigrants are required to come from the country of birth or citizenship by continuous journey on through tickets purchased in their own country. You being a citizen of British Guiana, and not a citizen of the United States where you are now residing, cannot be admitted. The fact that you are a British subject does not affect the matter in any way" (IB No A-number).

The letter to I.C. Creaves from the Acting Deputy Minister in 1929 summed up what came to be the official attitude to Black immigration. (See Appendix B.) Moreover, Black immigrants were expected to come to Canada through two posts of entry only: Emerson and North Portal. When some were admitted through other posts explanations from the people who were involved in those particular cases were sought by Headquarters: Were those persons legally admitted? Which doctor had examined them? What papers did they have? How did they come? and so forth.

The same attitudes continued not only during the interwar period but even after the Second World War. In 1952, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration in reply to a letter by Mr. Noseworthy on the application of Miss Braithwaite, a citizen of Barbados, had this to say:

> "I have had the case reviewed by the immigration branch to ascertain whether some grounds could not be found for extending favourable consideration. It is quite evident, however, that Miss Braithwaite does not qualify for admission under the present regulations and in the circumstances no encouragement can be given.
>
> "In reply to your last paragraph one of the conditions for admission to Canada is that immigrants should be able readily to become adapted and integrated into the life of the community within a reasonable time after their entry. In the light of experience it would be unrealistic to say that immigrants who have spent their life in tropical or subtropical countries become readily adapted to the Canadian mode of life which, to no small extent, is determined by climatic conditions. It is a matter of record that natives of such countries are more apt to break down in health than immigrants from countries where the climate is more akin to that of Canada. It is equally true that, generally speaking, persons from tropical or subtropical countries find it more difficult to succeed in the highly competitive Canadian economy" (quoted from Corbett 1957, pp.52-53).

In spite of these problems some Black immigrants were admitted into Canada. The movement in the early part of the 20th century was sustained by various factors. The Government in its bid to woo settlers into Western Canada started to advertise in foreign newspapers. Such advertisements did not indicate that Black immigrants were undesirable. They were inspired to come to a country which promised them hope since in the United States social and economic conditions which prevailed at that time were such that Blacks felt insecure. Stories from friends and relatives who had successfully settled in Canada motivated those who were left behind. The railway representatives also helped much in imparting information, some of which included information on alternative posts of entry. When this became known to the Government officials railway men were asked to stop doing so. Many immigrants were turned away at the border.

In spite of these difficulties some Blacks managed to get established in Canada. The first of four groups of Black immigrants who entered Canada were porters in the railway companies. Secondly, homesteaders settled in the Prairie Provinces. This movement was stopped quite early. Some of them were deported because they were not considered agriculturists. Thirdly, there was a group of female domestics from Guadaloupe who came to Montreal but most of them were deported because they were found to be undesirable because of their alleged moral, mental and physical defects. Finally, there was another movement to Nova Scotia. Although considered undesirable for being black, this latter movement was tolerated. No reason has been given for toleration. Most likely it was because many Black immigrants had by then settled in that area.

Another facet of attitudes towards Black immigration was that before 1961 children born from marriages between Negroes and Whites were classified as non-white. In 1961 they started to be recorded as white or non-white depending on whether the father was white or black. This was true also for the Chinese (Canada 1961, pp.6-1 to 6-3).

What does all this mean to African immigration to Canada? By implication and extension such words as climatic conditions, tropical or subtropical countries, coloured people, etc. were applicable to the American Blacks as they were for other black immigrants. Before the Canadian immigration policy changed in 1967 there was only one kind of immigrant wanted from Africa – a white South African who always has been a preferred immigrant. In this regard the official attitudes that prevailed against Black immigrants from the United States also were extended to all black immigrants.

However, Canada was not alone in debarring Black immigration. It simply followed the popular ideas of the time. The ideas of people from the tropics being inferior could be found even in reputed textbooks. For instance, as late as 1965, a prominent geographer retained in his textbook the statement that:

> "Psychologically each climate tends to have its own mentality, innate in its inhabitants and grafted on its immigrants. There appears to be a direct relationship between mental vigour and changeability of climates; all the world's great civilizations are now in regions experiencing abrupt and often unexpected changes of weather; the temperate zone governs the tropical zone by virtue of its infinitely greater energy and initiative . . . The enervating monotonous climates of much of the tropical zone, together with the abundant and easily obtained food-supply, produce a lazy and indolent people, indisposed to labour for hire and therefore in the past subjected to coercion culminating in slavery" (Miller 1965, p.2).

III. REVIEW OF THE CANADIAN IMMIGRATION POLICY

In all the developed countries, despite substantial differences in the patterns and functions of international migration, the subject has become prominent as a policy issue in recent years.

United Nations 1980
Population Bulletin of the United Nations
p.45.

A. Introduction

The Canadian society is very heterogenous . It is made up of people from all over the world. The main ethnic groups are however the British (the English, Irish, Scots and Welsh) and the French which comprised 44.6 and 28.7 per cent, respectively, of the total 1971 Census of Canada population. Other large groups include Germans (6.2 per cent), Italians (3.4 per cent), Ukrainians (2.8 per cent) and Scandinavians (2.0 per cent) of the 1971 Census population.

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the major immigration policy changes of Canada since the late 18th century. Since attitudes towards African immigration have already been outlined in chapter 2, they will just be mentioned here in passing until 1962.

B. Immigration Policy Prior to World War II

Immigration prior to 1870 to Canada can be called free immigration. Before 1870 it was believed that Canada's open spaces needed to be populated (Canada 1974b). Immigrants were given assistance to cover part of their transport costs and were also provided with cheap land for settlement. This resulted in a steady flow of immigrants – mainly farmers and farm workers – into Canada. Most of the immigrants came from the United Kingdom, the United States and France. A few came from Western and Northern Europe.

However, even in this early period there were some laws and regulations concerning passage and admission of immigrants. In 1794 An Act Respecting Aliens was passed in the first Parliament of Lower Canada. Under this Act, Commissioners were appointed and given discretionary powers to examine at the border and reject those who seemed likely to become unloyal and unsuitable settlers. But this Act applied to Americans only (Canada, n.d. [1974?], p.1). In 1798 The Aliens Act of Nova Scotia was passed. It was similar to that of Lower Canada.

In 1803 the Passenger Vessels Act was passed with the aim of regulating transportation conditions in Great Britain. In 1827 this Act was repealed when it was discovered that many immigrants who were reaching Halifax, Quebec and Montreal were starving, diseased and dying. In 1828 Nova Scotia passed a statute which provided that Masters of vessels had to enter a bond of 10 for every immigrant who within a year of entry became a public charge "by reason of disease, bodily infirmity, age, childhood or indigence." Later protests led to legislation in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Lower Canada to impose a head tax on every immigrant. The funds were used to care for the sick and destitute coming off the ships and to transport them to their destinations.

In 1840, Lower and Upper Canada were united. In 1841 an act creating a fund for needy immigrants was passed and a uniform immigrant capitation tax was imposed on all Masters of vessels. In March 1848 the head tax was increased and additional duties were levied in certain cases. The act further stipulated that the Master was to report physically defective persons or those likely to become public charges. Bonds were placed on behalf of such persons. In 1852 the Bureau of Agriculture was established and was charged with the duty of encouraging immigration.

The above changes were mainly concerned with the Masters of vessels. Assessment for the acceptable and unacceptable candidates for settlement started with the 1869 Immigration Act. The 1869 Act provided the basis for all succeeding legislation concerning immigration to Canada. The Federal Government in agreement with the Provinces undertook to maintain immigration offices in England and other ports in the United Kingdom and Europe apart from maintaining quarantine stations at Halifax, St. John and Crosse Isle and, immigration offices at Halifax, St. John, Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa, Kingston, Toronto, Hamilton and wherever deemed necessary. But the "the Provincial Legislatures were to retain the right to determine their own policy regarding the settlement and colonization of their uncultivated lands and to appoint their own Agents in

Europe and elsewhere as they might think proper" (Canada n.d. [1974?], p.4). In 1872 the Immigration Act was amended to exclude the admission of criminals and other "vicious classes." From 1879 onwards, paupers and destitutes were denied entry into Canada. In 1885 the Chinese Immgration Act was passed. The Act immediately put the movements of Chinese under close surveillance. Its aim was "to restrict and regulate Chinese immigration" (Canada 1974b, p.5). Those Chinese who were already in Canada were required to register their presence. Every person of Chinese origin was required to pay $50 head tax upon entering Canada, unless he was a member of the diplomatic corps, government representative, a servant of the above, a tourist, a merchant, a scientist or a student. Also excluded from the tax was the wife of a person not of Chinese origin. In 1900 exempt classes included children born in Canada of Chinese parents, wives and children of the clergy. The tax was raised to $100 and to $500 in 1900 and 1903, respectively.

In 1906 a new amendment was made in the general regulations. Prohibited classes now included persons who were considered feeble-minded, idiots, insane or epileptics, or those who became insane within five years of residence in Canada; those with infectious diseases; professional beggars, vagrants, or persons of undesirable morality. Captains or owners of ships which allowed landing of any prohibited immigrant were fined beginning in 1907.

In 1910 a new Immigration Act was passed. In addition to classes previously prohibited the 1910 Act excluded:

> "any person other than a Canadian citizen who advocates in Canada the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of Great Britain or Canada, or other British dominion, colony, possession or dependency; or the overthrow by force or violence of constituted law and authority" (quoted from Green 1976, p.15).

The 1910 Act made some efforts to define what was to be meant by "Canadian domicile," "Canadian citizenship," "Immigrant," and "Non-immigrant."

The 1897-1911 period is associated with Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, who promoted immigration to Western Canada. Sifton was convinced that through massive immigration of agriculturists Canada could be prosperous. Promotional activities were introduced in the United Kingdom, United States, France and in Northern and Western Europe but these efforts failed to produce the desired fruit. Sifton had to turn to Eastern and Southern Europe as alternative sources. Sifton's ideal immigrant came to be "a stalwart peasant in a sheepskin coat . . . with a stout wife and a half-dozen children" (quoted from Marchand 1981, p.34). This began the substantial non-Anglo-Saxon, and non-French immigration of Poles, Ukrainians, Hutterites, Doukhobors, etc., into Canada, and especially into Western Canada.

Just before the start of World War I highest levels of immigration were reached, never to be equalled again. For instance, for 1910, 1911, 1912 and 1913 287,000, 331,000, 376,000 and 401,000 immigrants, respectively, entered Canada.

In 1922 the Chinese Immigration Act was amended to include the following into classes exempt from the $500 head tax: Canadian-born merchants, their wives and children under 13 years of age in 1922 and those under 16 years in 1918/1919. A new Immigration Act involving Chinese was passed in 1923. The Chinese had to land only through the ports of Vancouver and Victoria in British Columbia. This did not affect the diplomatic corps or children born in Canada who left temporarily for educational purposes abroad or those who were legally admitted and went away for some time so long as they had registered their intention to return to the comptroller before two years expired. The head tax was abolished by the same act. Sampat-Mehta (1973) suggested that:

> "This is probably due to the fact that the Act was written in such a way as to bar almost exclusively the coming of Chinese immigrants to Canada. For example, the Act restricted shipping companies to carry one Chinese immigrant for every 250 tons of a ship's tonnage. Previous Acts allowed one for every 50 tons. The Minister was also given authority to admit to Canada any Chinese without being subject to the Act . . .
>
> Perhaps one of the strictest regulations inherent in this Act was Section 27 which absolutely forbade Chinese to change their status on pain of deportation. In other words, if a Chinese entered Canada as either a merchant or a student, he was absolutely not to become a labourer. Even if he were otherwise unable to provide for himself, he could not engage in manual labour because by law he could be deported" (pp.105-106).

What about other groups of people? How were they affected by the changes in immigration regulations? It has already been discussed that Black immigration was controlled vigorously without putting it into law. East Indians were protected under the British Government laws and their immigration was left under the Dominion Government. Immigrants were just required to be in good health, in possession of at least $200 upon entry and to be in a position to work when they arrived in Canada. In practice, East Indians were subjected to the same regulations as the Chinese. Sampat-Mehta (1973) has argued that they might have enjoyed the same privileges as other Europeans had they not made the mistake of going to British Columbia first. With the exception of citizens of the United Kingdom, the United States, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa, all other immigrants were required to have at least $250 upon entry. Japanese had concluded "a gentlemen's agreement" in 1908. This was a secret agreement whose contents were never made public. However, according to Sampat-Mehta (1973, pp.211-216), the Japanese Government was left with the task of controlling emigration of its nationals to Canada. The agreement was "forced on Canada" because Japan considered itself a big power having just defeated China and Russia in two separate wars. Annual immigration to Canada from Japan was put at 400. In 1923 this agreement was revised so that only 150 labourers and agricultural workers could enter Canada from Japan annually in addition to the families of Japanese immigrants already in Canada. In 1928 the agreement was further revised to allow landing of only 150 Japanese annually (Sunahara 1980, footnote 9, p.114).

During the 1930s immigration was generally restricted due to the effects of the Great Depression. In 1930, Asiatic immigration (Chinese, Indian, Egyptian and Armenian) was restricted to wife or unmarried child under 18 years of a Canadian citizen. By the 1931 Order-in-Council (PC) 695 (March 31, 1931) immigration was restricted to certain British subjects (by reason of birth or naturalization in the United Kingdom, Ireland, Newfoundland, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa) and the United States' citizens, wives and unmarried children under 18 years, or fiance(e)s of legal residents and citizens of Canada; and agriculturists who could prove that they had sufficient means to farm in Canada.

In 1939 enemy aliens, except those detained under the Defence of Canada Regulations or those who were opposed to enemy governments of Canada, and nationals of countries occupied by enemy forces such as Germany and Italy, were denied entry into Canada.

In retrospect it can be said that prior to World War II there were attempts in Canada to restrict admission of some groups of people depending on the geographic area of origin. Essentially all the Acts and regulations did was to lay the grounds on which people could not land in Canada. These resulted in some countries being preferred over others. African immigration (except that from South Africa) was undesirable. By extension it was included in the Asiatic immigration (Hawkins 1972, p.95). It has been stated that, "Blacks were held to be inadmissible unless they fell in preferred classes, or were the spouses or minor children of Canadian residents" (Canada 1974b, p.21). Preferred classes were immigrants from the United Kingdom, Ireland, the United States, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

C. Immigration Policy Since World War II

Following the end of the Second World War immigration regulations remained the same as they were just before the war. Enemy aliens were still barred from entering although regulations were relaxed to admit refugees and displaced persons. During the late 1940s Canada started to experience economic expansion, low unemployment with a slowly growing labour force. A combination of these factors led to the reappraisal of immigration performance in the past and to changes in the policy.

Early Post War Immigration Policy Changes

In his famous speech in Parliament, Prime Minister Mackenzie King (May 1, 1947), spelt out the role of immigration in the Canadian society. He said:

> The policy of the government is to foster the growth of the population of Canada by encouragement of immigration. The government will seek by legislation, regulation, and vigorous administration, to ensure the careful selection and permanent settlement of such numbers of immigrants as can advantageously be absorbed in our national economy . . .
>
> "I wish to make it quite clear that Canada is perfectly within her rights in selecting the persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens. It is not a 'fundamental human right' of any alien to enter Canada. It is a privilege. It is a matter of domestic policy . . .
>
> "There will, I am sure, be general agreement with the view that the people of Canada do not wish, as a result of mass immigration, to make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population. Large-scale immigration from the orient would change the fundamental composition of the Canadian population. Any considerable oriental immigration would, moreover, be certain to give rise to social and economic problems of a character that might lead to serious difficulties in the field of international relations" (quoted from Canada 1974b, pp.201-206).

Thus, according to King immigration had a role to play in the development of Canadian society. As such it had to be considered in long-term perspective. Immigration had to be geared towards population growth and economic development. It had to be selective and related to the absorptive capacity of the Canadian economy. Moreover, immigration was a matter of domestic policy whose control was a national prerogative. However, immigration was not to alter the ethnic balance of groups already in Canada. King's speech was not followed by any immediate major legislation act but a series of regulations and Acts that have reflected his ideals.

France was admitted under PC 4186 of September 16, 1948 as a preferred country. In 1950 immigrants from Germany and Italy started to be admitted. Prospective immigrants from Europe mainly needed to be in good health, of good moral character and with sufficient means to support themselves before they became established. In addition, immigrants from non-preferred Northern and Western Europe had to have basic skills or trades which were needed in Canada. Countries affected were Belgium, Denmark, Luxembourg, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland. Immigrants from preferred countries - the United Kingdom, Ireland, the United States, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa - were admitted irrespective of their trades or skills.

At the same time the Canadian Government was also involved in admitting large numbers of displaced persons and refugees. These persons were admitted under various Orders-in-Council. PC 3112 (July 23, 1946) provided for the selection and placement in agricultural activities of 4,000 single ex-members of the Polish Armed Forces who served with the Allied Forces in the war. On November 7, 1946, the Prime Minister announced the Government approval of emergency measures to assist in resettling refugees and displaced persons from European camps in co-operation with the International Refugee Organisation (IRO) by selecting some for settlement in Canada. A total of 40,000 displaced persons and refugees entered Canada between July-October 1947, and April-October 1948 (Dirks 1977, p.155).

In addition there was immigration aimed at reuniting spouses of Canadian servicemen and their dependants who had been married while abroad. Furthermore, PC 4849 (December 24, 1947) permitted the landing of any non-immigrant who had served in the armed forces and was honourably discharged, provided he was not a member of undesirable classes. However, his ultimate admissibility was subject to provincial approval

Meanwhile categories of admissible classes kept on expanding. PC 1734 (May 1, 1947) included the following:

> "the wife or husband, son, daughter, brother or sister, together with husband or wife and unmarried children if any; the father or mother; the orphan nephew or niece under 21 years of age; of any person legally resident in Canada who is in a position to receive and care for such relatives . . . a person entering Canada for the purpose of marriage to a legal resident thereof; provided the prospective husband is able to maintain his intended wife . . . an agriculturist having sufficient means to farm in Canada . . . entering Canada to farm when destined to father, father-in-law, son-in-law, brother-in-law, uncle, or nephew engaged in agriculture as his occupation who is in a position to receive such immigrant and establish him on a farm, a farm labourer entering Canada to engage in assured employment; a person experienced in mining, lumbering, or logging entering Canada to engage in assured employment in any one of such industries" (quoted from Kalbach 1970, p.18).

In 1950 a new Department of Citizenship and Immigration was created. PC 2856 (June 9, 1950) stipulated that a person entering Canada needed to satisfy the Minister of the Department that:

> "he is a suitable immigrant having regard to climate, social, education, industrial, labour, or other conditions or requirements of Canada; and is not undesirable owing to his peculiar customs, modes of life, methods of holding property, or because of his probable inability to become readily integrated into the life of a Canadian community to assume the duties of Canadian citizenship within a reasonable time after entry."

In 1951 India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka concluded quota allocation of immigrants with Canada. Canada was to admit annually a maximum of 150, 100 and 50 immigrants from these countries, respectively. The number was adjusted to 300 for India in 1958 (Kalbach 1970, p.21).

The 1952 Immigration Act

In 1952 a new Immigration Act was adopted. Section 20(1) of the Act distinguished between preferred and non-preferred countries of emigration. PC 1953-859 (May 26, 1953) clarified the Section and divided preferred countries into three groups:

(a) British subjects by birth or naturalization in the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa;

(b) Citizens of the United States; and

(c) Citizens of France born in France or St. Pierre and Miquelon Islands.

The immigrants had to have sufficient means to maintain themselves until they had secured employment.

Under Section 20(4) the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration was empowered to limit or prohibit a prospective immigrant to land in Canada by reason of:

> "(a) The peculiar customs, habits, modes of life or methods of holding property in his own country or place of birth or citizenship or in the country or place where he resided prior to coming to Canada;
>
> "(b) his unsuitability, having regard to the economic, social, industrial, educational, labour, health or other conditions or requirements existing, temporarily or otherwise, in Canada or in the area or country from or through which such person comes to Canada; or
>
> "(c) his probable inability to become readily assimilated or to assume the duties and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship within a reasonable time after his admission" (Canada, no date, pp.16-17).

Section 20 was amended and expanded by PC 1956-785 (May 24, 1956). Any person falling under the following groups of countries could be admitted:

> "(a) a person who is a British subject by birth or naturalization in the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, or the Union of South Africa, a citizen of Ireland, a citizen of France born or naturalized in France or in St. Pierre and Miquelon Islands, or a citizen of the United States of America . . .;
>
> "(b) a person who is a citizen by birth or naturalization of Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Federal Republic of Germany, Finland, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, or Switzerland, or who is a refugee from a country of Europe, if such person undertakes to come to Canada for placement under the auspices of the Department, or if the Department has given approval thereto for establishment in a business, trade, or profession or in Agriculture;
>
> "(c) a person who is a citizen by birth or naturalization of Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, Turkey, or any country of Europe or of a country of North America, Central America, or South America, if such person is the husband or wife and the unmarried children under 21 years of age, the fiance(e) of a Canadian citizen or of a person legally admitted to Canada and who has applied for any such person and is in a position to receive and care for such person; or
>
> "(d) a person who is a citizen of a country other than a country referred to in paragraphs (a), (b), (c) . . . if such a person is the husband, the wife, or the unmarried child under 21 years of age, the father where he is over 60, of a Canadian citizen residing in Canada who has applied for and is in a position to receive and care for any such person, but no such child shall be landed in Canada unless his father or his mother, as the case may be, is landed concurrently with him" (quoted from Kalbach 1970, pp.22-23).

Two events in 1956 interrupted immigration trends. Following the October crisis in Hungary, the regulations were eased, medical restrictions were eased and free transportation was offered to Hungarian refugees. In 1957 alone, the year the above-mentioned provisions were terminated, about 38,000 Hungarian refugees entered Canada. Still in 1956, some British subjects entered Canada from Egypt following the Suez Canal crisis.

In 1957 PC 1957-1675 (December 20, 1957) provided that even landed immigrants from Africa and Asia could sponsor their spouses, unmarried minor children and their aged parents. Prior to this date this was a privilege of Canadian citizens in case of most African and Asian countries.

1957 marks the peak of postwar immigration into Canada. Things started to change in the Canadian economy from 1958. Technological progress made unskilled and semi-skilled immigrants vulnerable to unemployment. As a result, education and technical skills started to be recognised as the necessary pre-conditions for successful adaptation to Canadian life. Passaris (1979) has stated that:

> "Perhaps the most interesting feature of the 1957 to 1962 immigration period was that despite the significant reductions in immigration numbers that occurred in 1958 and 1959, Canada was faced with a surplus of unskilled labour while at the same time, certain categories of skilled persons such as nurses, teachers, doctors, medical laboratory technicians, accountants, social workers and skilled industrial workers were in short supply" (p.298).

The economy started to pick up from the end of 1961 marking the onset of the prosperous 1960s. Subsequently the Canadian Government began to follow an expansionary immigration policy influenced by a combination of social, economic and political conditions. The organized labour, the Manufacturers Association, railway and transport companies, professional associations, church groups and debates between English- and French-speaking Canadians over the racial balance of the Canadian population influenced the trends in the Canadian immigration policy. Moreover, economies in Europe were fast recovering and local European newspapers were trying to discourage emigration. The traditional sources of immigrants for Canada were drying up, new sources had to be found (Andras 1974; Canada 1966a; Ferguson 1974; Green 1976; Hawkins 1972; Marr 1976). A move to universality and admission based on skills, education and training, family reunion and humanitarian considerations has begun. Hawkins (1972, pp.44-45) has suggested that this was a tactical move by Canada since it could not hold its racialist policies because they worked against Canada's best interests at that time and also because they were inconsistent with membership in a multiracial

Commonwealth and with a constructive role which Canada now held in international affairs.

It was realised that new immigration regulations were needed in order to attract the needed immigrants. The Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Ellen Fairclough, has been quoted as saying:

> "We shall do our best to admit as immigrants individuals and families who are personally suitable and who have the required background and training to become worthwhile citizens. The key to our immigration policy will be the consistent application of proper selection standards designed to bring the best possible settlers to Canada. I am sure all Canadians agree that once these standards are established they should be applied consistently to all who seek admission to this country, except where the admission of the immigrant is based on compassionate grounds or on close relationships" (quoted from Green 1976, p.36).

In an internal memorandum of January 3, 1962, the Deputy Minister of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, George F. Davidson, wrote that:

> "Our prime objective in the proposed revision is to eliminate all discrimination based on colour, race or creed. This means that, if we continue to allow Greeks, Poles, Italians, Portuguese and other Europeans to bring in the wide range of relatives presently admissible, we will have to do the same for Japanese, Chinese, Indians, Pakistanis, Africans, persons from the Arab world, the West Indies and so forth. The only possible result of this would be a substantially larger number of unskilled close relatives from these parts of the world to add to the influx of unskilled close relatives from Europe.
>
> "We can in short achieve our prime objective of eliminating *all* discrimination only in two ways:
>
> "(a) By opening the doors to close relatives from the 'coloured' parts of the world to the present level accorded to Europeans. This will greatly increase (probably double within a very few years) the influx of unskilled persons as close relatives; or
>
> "(b) By a compromise, as proposed in the Draft Regulations, reducing to some extent the categories of European close relatives who can be admitted, regardless of skills, and then raising the 'coloured' countries to a level of equality with the European" (quoted from Hawkins 1972, pp.130-131).

The 1962 Immigration Regulations

New immigration regulations were established by PC 1962-86 of January 19, 1962. These new regulations removed some more barriers to non-white immigration to Canada. They emphasised education, training, skills or other special qualifications of potential immigrants as necessary requirements in addition to good health and conduct.

Immigrants and citizens could sponsor both close and distant relatives if they did not come from Africa or Asia (except those from Egypt and South Africa in the case of Africa). Commenting on the new regulations, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, had this to say:

> "The general effect of Section 31 [which replaced Section 20 of the 1952 Immigration Act], taken as a whole, is to improve the position of all countries, without weakening the position of any. The chief beneficiaries will be the Asians, Africans and the nationals of Middle Eastern countries. Not only will sponsors in Canada be able to apply for a wider circle of relatives from these countries than formerly, but for the first time *unsponsored* applicants from these parts of the world with necessary qualifications will be admissible to Canada. Heretofore, qualified persons from these areas without relatives in Canada could only be admitted by Order-in-Council.
>
> "Next to the Asians, Africans and nationals of Middle Eastern countries, persons from the Central and Latin American countries, including the West Indies, stand to benefit. Nationals of these countries will for the first time come within the admissible classes on the basis of their education, training and skills" (quoted from Richmond and Kalbach 1980, p.60).

In order to attract new and sustained flows of immigrants the Canadian Government organized studies on overall immigration policy. The studies culminated in the publication of a *White Paper* on immigration in 1966. Manpower policies became attached to immigration. In the *White Paper* it was observed that:

> "Europe by and large has become fairly prosperous. Professional people, the well educated and the highly skilled are as much in demand there as in Canada. Other countries, notably Australia, are in competition with us for immigrants. Many of the best qualified are attracted by the opportunities open in the United States" (Canada 1966a, p.11).

Thus, it was realised that more efforts in skill procurement and exploration of new sources of supply of well qualified manpower were needed. 1966 and 1967 were seen as years of manpower development. In fact, Canadian labour force was one of the least skilled among the industrialised countries (Hawkins 1976, p.45). It was further recognised that there was need for planned immigration. For instance, it was pointed out that:

> If we were to promote immigration one year and discourage it the next year, turning the tap on and off in response to short-term economic conditions in Canada, we could not expect to get much high quality immigration. For qualified people migration is a complex and highly personal decision. A selective immigration policy today must be planned as a steady policy of recruitment based on long-term considerations of economic growth" (Canada 1966a, p.12).

A new Department of Manpower and Immigration was created in October 1966. This Department carried out the implementation of the expansionist overtures of the

White Paper, viz, views concerning the positive contributions of immigration to population growth, expansion of the domestic market, lowering of per capita costs of the government and services as well as the enrichment of Canadian life through cultural exchanges. In a way, it was the *White Paper* which established the basis for the selection criteria of the immigrants introduced in 1967.

The 1967 Immigration Regulations

Further changes were introduced in the Canadian immigration policy by the adoption of new regulations in 1967. These regulations were first announced by PC 1967-1616 (April 18, 1967) and became effective on October 1, 1967. For the first time in Canadian immigration history, immigration regulations became ostensibly non-discriminatory. For the first time specific criteria for immigrant selection were incorporated in the regulations. Birth place, nationality, and race became irrelevant in the admission of immigrants to Canada as a nine-category unit (or point) assessment system was introduced. This was a scoring system whereby an applicant had to obtain a given number of points out of a possible 100 if he was to be admitted. However, scoring a given number of units was not an automatic passport for entry into Canada because the presiding officer still had power to admit or otherwise any person, depending on personal factors. The scoring system aimed at controlling the movement of sponsored dependants and unskilled immigrants and recruiting the desired manpower at the same time. In addition it allowed for some flexibility in the recruitment process.

Table 3.1 gives the point allocation according to the nine categories. The first five factors were considered as long-term factors. Education and training had the greatest weight of 20 units. A unit was awarded for each year of formal education, apprenticeship, or professional, vocational or trades training, which the person had successfully completed. Education and training were held to be the best indicator of an immigrant's potential for adapting to and taking advantage of the changes brought into the Canadian society. It was stated that, "The better preparation a person has, the more likely he is able to go on improving his qualifications, productivity and personal achievement" (Canada 1974b, p.43).

TABLE 3.1 SELECTION CRITERIA FOR 1967 IMMIGRATION REGULATIONS: SUMMARY OF SELECTION FACTORS*

FACTORS	RANGE OF POINTS OF ASSESSMENT TO BE AWARDED
1. Education and training	0 - 20
2. Personal qualities	0 - 15
3. Occupational demand	0 - 15
4. Occupational skill	1 - 10
5. Age	0 - 10
6. Arranged employment/designated occupation	0 or 10
7. Knowledge of English and/or French	0 - 10
8. Relative in Canada	0 or 3 or 5
9. Area of destination	0 - 5
Potential maximum	100

Notes:

*Independent applicants were assessed on all the 9 factors. Nominated relatives were assessed on factors 1 to 5. As for other applicants they were awarded points depending on their relationship with nominators. Sponsored dependents did not require units since they had a close relative in Canada who was willing to take responsibility for their care and maintenance (see text).

Source: Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1974b, p. 59.

Personal qualities included such characteristics as adaptability, motivation, initiative and resourcefulness as was observed by the presiding immigration officer. Personal qualities were considered in terms of a person's ability to become settled in Canada.

On occupational demand it was observed that gainful employment was the primary requirement for successful settlement in Canada, without which there was no hope of an immigrant becoming established. This factor weeded out of competition those who were considered undesirable immigrants in terms of Canadian manpower needs. If any applicant had to be successful, he had to receive at least one unit on occupational demand.

The higher the applicant was on the skills scale, the better were his chances for initial establishment and future success in Canada. Persons with advanced skills were held on more favourable terms than those with none. The years between 18 and 35 were considered as the high-employability age group and any applicant falling into this group was awarded the full 10 points. After 35 years of age an applicant would lose one unit for each year. If the immigrant was at least 45 years old he did not receive any credit on the age factor.

Short-term factors included arranged employment or designated occupation, knowledge of English or/and French, presence of a relative in Canada, general employment opportunities in the area of destination. These factors indicated the applicant's chances of establishing himself early in Canada.

Arranged employment assured the immigrant that he would get a job upon arrival in Canada. An immigrant had to have arranged for a specific job with a specific employer in Canada. Designated occupation was introduced in February 1974 and affected specific unfillable shortages of manpower in some local or regional areas of Canada. If the applicant qualified for the occupation in short supply of manpower and was destined to the area of certified shortages, he received 10 units of assessment so long as he also met other conditions. From 1974 an applicant could only be given points on arranged employment when the Department of Manpower and Immigration had certified that no suitably qualified Canadian citizen or resident was available for the job offered to a prospective immigrant. In addition:

> "Before awarding the 10 units of assessment, the selection officer must also satisfy himself that the applicant, in addition to being suitably qualified, can meet any federal, provincial or other licensing or regulatory requirements applicable to the job" (Canada 1974b, p.47).

Five units of assessment were awarded to the applicants who were fully fluent in English or French - fluent in good speaking and reading. Two units were awarded for either or both of good speaking or reading knowledge. One unit was awarded for either or both of a limited speaking or reading ability. In other words, full fluency in both English and French earned an applicant 10 units of assessment.

An applicant received three units of assessment if he had a relative in Canada, or five units if the latter was willing to offer hospitality, at least initially, to the applicant or if the latter came to live within the same municipality as the Canadian sponsor.

General employment conditions in the area of destination also affected the applicants somewhat. Applicants were to be admitted to the areas of high economic opportunities because in those areas they were likely to get work, even if that may not be in their own desired occupations.

Three categories of applicants were established, namely: (1) independent applicant, (2) nominated relative, and (3) sponsored dependant. An independent applicant was the one who was able to become self-supporting and established after arriving in Canada. He had to be well qualified, have sufficient means and score at least 50 units. His admissibility was based on both long- and short-term selection factors.

A nominated relative was the applicant who was not necessarily as educated as the independent applicant. However, he was assessed as the independent applicant on long-term selection factors. He was nominated by a relative in Canada who offered him help in the initial stages of establishing himself. A nominated relative was, nonetheless, required to earn some units including at least a unit for occupational demand unless he was destined to arranged employment or a designated occupation. Four scales of points were developed depending on the basis of kinship relationship with the nominator. 15 units were awarded to a grandchild, uncle, aunt, or nephew or niece married or more than 21 years old, of a landed immigrant; 20 units were awarded to the same of a Canadian citizen. 25 and 30 units were given to the son, daughter, brother, sister, parent, grandparent, or unmarried nephew or niece under 21 years of age of a landed immigrant or Canadian citizen, respectively. A nominated relative had potential of scoring 100 units.

It has been stated that:

> "Normally, a nominated relative who receives a total of 50 or more units of assessment is considered likely to become successfully established in Canada. As in the case of independent applicants, however, the selection officer has discretion to approve or reject a nominated relative, notwithstanding the number of points awarded, if he believes that there are significant elements or circumstances affecting the immigrant's prospects that have not been taken into account" (Canada 1974b, p.60).

A sponsored dependant was not required to earn any units but had to be a close relative of the Canadian sponsor who offered to take responsibility for his care and maintenance. The sponsored dependant had to be a spouse, fiance(e); unmarried child under 21 years of age; parent or grandparent 60 years of age or more (or younger if widowed or incapacitated); an orphan under 18 years of age who was a grandchild, brother, sister, nephew, niece; any unmarried adopted child under 21 years of age who was adopted before he was 18 years old; or an orphan, abandoned child or any other child under 13 years of age who was placed under a welfare authority for adoption, and whom the sponsor intended to adopt.

An independent Immigration Appeal Board was also established in 1967. Prior to 1967, the conditional arrangement for admission was that immigrants had to apply from their countries of usual residence. But with the creation of the Immigration Appeal Board, visitors in Canada were allowed to apply for landed immigrant status. The purpose of the Board was to hear and act upon the appeals of the unsuccessful applicants. The Board's decisions were final and subject only to the appeals to the Supreme Court of Canada. The results of such a move were enormous – many people took advantage of this rare opportunity to come to Canada as visitors and then change their status. There soon developed a backlog of applications and appeals such that by the time a certain applicant's case was heard, he had subsequently adapted to the Canadian life and was therefore admitted on humanitarian and compassionate grounds rather than on the set criteria. Through PC 1972-2502 (November 3, 1972) the Federal Government withdrew this privilege and once again, applicants were obliged to apply from outside the country.

The Changed Attitudes

Starting with the early 1970s Canada began to experience a general slowdown of the economy, and subsequently an increase in unemployment. By that time the postwar baby boom cohort had started entering the Canadian job market. Immigration policy was further restricted to those persons who were really "needed by Canada." Moreover, there was concern over the volume, ethnic composition, and destination of immigrants. Beaujot (1978) stated that:

> "Many Canadians are questioning high levels of immigration. With fertility now below replacement level, net immigration contributes substantially to population growth (over a third in 1976); the growing proportion of non-Europeans among recent immigrants causes resentment; and in a tight job market, immigrants are seen as threats to the swollen post-World War II baby boom cohort, now entering at working ages" (p.3).

While addressing the Montreal Rotary Club, Robert Andras, then Minister of Manpower and Immigration, on December 10, 1974, said:

> "We are now starting to consider, in a conscious policy framework, the questions of overall size of population, the pace at which it grows, its geographical distribution, its age patterns, its linguistic, educational and occupational mix, and other related issues such as urban growth. The location of the Canadian population may in fact turn out to be as important to us in the future as the total number making up the Canadian mosaic . . .
>
> "And I might point out that of the 39 per cent who came from Europe [in 1973], a substantial number are not native Europeans. They are Asians and Africans living in Europe who applied to come to Canada as immigrants and were dealt with in exactly the same way as everyone else" (quoted from Bonavia 1977, pp.i–iii).

The worry about the sources of immigrants cannot be over-emphasised. Immigration statistics testify to this. Boris Chelovsky, at one time Tom Kent's (Kent was the Deputy Minister in the Department of Manpower and Immigration and one of Prime Minister's – Lester Pearson – key aides) special assistant has been quoted as saying:

> "The fruit of the new point system became evident in the early 1970s, and people became frightened. Immigration was steamrolling, and many people were getting sponsored as family members. Of these sponsored immigrants, it seemed that ninety per cent or so were non-white. Once you got a segment of non-whites as independents, they sponsored relatives more often than Germans or Slavs or whatever" (quoted from Marchand 1981, p.34).

Whether the above was the real case or not one thing was sure; immigration policy had opened the door too wide by allowing different ethnic groups of people to come to Canada. How could the door be narrowed? There were several steps that were taken. Since November 1972 all prospective immigrants have to apply from overseas.

With the exception of sponsored applicants, all other immigrants are required to have pre-arranged employment or be in a designated occupation, and have at least one unit of assessment for occupational demand in addition to the required number of units in order to be admitted. 10 points are given to the applicant for arranged employment if no Canadian citizen or resident (depending on the information furnished by the Canadian Employment Service) is willing to take up the offer. Conversely, 10 points are deducted from the accumulated total if the applicant does not have a pre-arranged employment or if he is not destined to a demand area.

Towards a New Immigration Act

In view of the combinations of factors noted above, a new path was started in 1974 to establish a new immigration act. A number of experts were commissioned to prepare a series of studies on various aspects of immigration and population (Breton *et al* 1974; Epstein 1974; Hawkins 1974; Henripin 1974; Kalbach 1974; Parai 1974). These culminated in the *Green Paper on Immigration* (Canada 1974a, 1974b, 1974c, 1974d). The main purpose of the studies was to identify problems and analyze policy options related to immigration, to review procedures of immigrant recruitment, and to review the entire legal framework within which new policies should operate. The purpose of the *Green Paper* was to provide the Canadian population with background information for discussions on the role of immigration. Challenges of both domestic and foreign implications for future policy were included in the *Green Paper* although it neither made firm recommendations nor proposed solutions. Some of the issues explored were: population goals (with reference to the rate of growth and distribution, *viz*, implications for regional development, urban growth, and land use policy); refugee policy; illegal immigration and Canada's linguistic balance; services to immigrants; the selection criteria, relationships between immigration policy and Canada's relationship with the Third World, including Canada's aid objectives; the appeal system, deportations and detentions; social and economic adaptation of immigrants; the equitable distribution of visa offices abroad; the development of consultative arrangements (including the role provinces can play) and input from interested organisations; and the place of non-immigrants in the Canadian labour force. The *Green Paper*, however, highlighted four options in the future immigration policy. These were:

1. To retain the then present responsive system of immigration management abroad, i.e., a system which did not fix in advance the number of visas to be issued in a given period of time.
2. To gear the immigration programme even more intensively to the needs of Canada's economic and labour market conditions.
3. To develop and announce explicit targets for the number of visas to be issued annually, globally, regionally and possibly post-by-post.
4. To establish annually a global ceiling for the total immigration movement, satisfying the priorities to be observed when issuing visas to different categories of immigrants within that ceiling (Canada 1974a).

A Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Immigration Policy was appointed in March 1975. Its main job was to organize hearings on the *Green Paper* and make recommendations to the Parliament on immigration policy. The Committee held hearings and accepted briefs across the country. A Report (Canada 1975b) was presented to the Parliament in November 1975. 90 per cent of its recommendations were adopted and were incorporated in the new Immigration Act of 1976. Its major recommendations, well summarised by Hawkins (1975) are given in Appendix C.

The 1976 Immigration Act

After discussions and hearings on the Report were closed, Parliament started to work on the new immigration act. The Immigration Act was passed in Parliament in August 1977 and was implemented in April 1978. The 1976 Act is the first Act to enact legislation of the objectives of the Canadian immigration policy. The Act clearly states that immigration should be used to promote both national and external interests of Canada, and therefore should be linked to the economic conditions and to the demographic needs of Canada. For the first time in Canadian immigration history, beginning with 1978, the Canadian Government, predetermines global targets for future immigration levels. Section 7 stipulates that:

> "The Minister, after consultation with the provinces concerning regional demographic needs and labour market considerations and after consultation with such other persons, organizations and institutions as he deems appropriate shall lay before Parliament . . . a report specifying
>
> "(a) the number of immigrants that the Government of Canada deems it appropriate to admit during any specified period of time; and
>
> "(b) the manner in which demographic considerations have been taken into account in determining that number."

Furthermore, the 1976 Immigration Act states that Canadian immigration policy is to foster non-discrimination, family reunion, and humanitarian concern for refugees. It also states that cultural exchanges which lead to international understanding are welcome in Canada. A new family class has been created in order to allow Canadian citizens to sponsor a wide range of close relatives. The Act requires that both immigrants and visitors obtain visas and authorizations from abroad; and prohibits visitors from changing their status while in Canada.

There are three main classes of admissible immigrants: the family class, convention refugees, and independent and other immigrants. (1) The family class is almost the same as the sponsored dependant class of the 1967 Immigration Regulations, except that under the new Act Canadian citizens who are 18 years of age or over can sponsor parents of any age or circumstance. In addition any Canadian citizen or resident who is 18 years or over can sponsor certain relatives such as: a spouse and a spouse's accompanying unmarried child under 21 years of age; unmarried children under 21 years of age; parents or grandparents 60 years of age or over, plus any accompanying dependants; parents or grandparents under 60 years of age who are widowed or incapable of working, plus accompanying dependants; unmarried orphaned brothers, sisters, nephews, nieces, or grandchildren under 18 years of age; and fiance(e) and accompanying unmarried children under 21 years of age. Also eligible to apply are: any child under 13 years of age who is an orphan, an abandoned child, or a child with a welfare authority whom the sponsor wants to adopt; or one relative, regardless of age or relationship to the sponsor, and his accompanying dependants so long as the sponsor does not have close relatives in Canada and cannot otherwise sponsor anyone. The only requirements for the family class applicants are that they be of good character and morals. Also a signed statement of promise by the sponsor that he will provide care, maintenance and lodging of the applicant and his accompanying dependants for a period of up to ten years is required.

(2) Convention refugees class is another newly-introduced class based on the United Nations' definition of refugee. Thus:

> "A 'Convention refugee' is any person who by reason of a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion (a) is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, by reason of such fear, is unwilling to avail himself to the protection of that country, or (b) not having a country of nationality, is outside the country of his former residence and is unable or, by reason of such fear, is unwilling to return to that country" (Canada 1977a, Section 2).

According to the Act refugees can only be removed from Canada if they become security risks, and such a decision should come from the courts of law. Convention refugees seeking to settle in Canada are assessed in accordance with the factors applied to independent immigrants although the former do not receive any points. Assessment on refugees is done in order to know their general ability to adapt to Canadian life. Such an assessment "and the amount of settlement assistance available to them from the government or private organizations in the country, determine whether or not they can be admitted to Canada under the refugee class" (Canada 1978a, p.12). Other displaced persons who do not fall under the United Nations' definition can be admitted on humanitarian grounds.

(3) Independent and other immigrants correspond to the 1967 Immigration Regulations classes of independent applicants and nominated relatives. This class includes assisted relatives, retirees, entrepreneurs, self-employed and other immigrants who apply on their own. Assisted relatives are those applicants other than those under family class who have relatives in Canada who are ready to help them until they are established. Assisted relatives are people like brothers, sisters, parents and grandparents, children and grandchildren, aunts and uncles, nephews and nieces, and their accompanying dependants. To apply as an entrepreneur a person must intend to operate a business in Canada and employ more than five Canadian citizens or residents, and also be able to establish a controlling interest in that business. In order to be admitted as a self-employed immigrant a person must have the intention of operating a business which would employ at least one but not more than five Canadian citizens or residents, or he has to contribute to the cultural and artistic life of Canada. To qualify as a retiree, an

immigrant must be at least 55 years of age and have no intention to work while in Canada.

Table 3.2 gives a summary of the new ten-category point assessment system. Although the categories are similar to the 1967 ones, their weighting has been revised. More emphasis is now placed on practical training and experience as well as capability to adapt to Canadian life. Employment-related factors account for almost half of the total possible units of assessment. An assisted relative must earn units between 20 and 35 depending on his relationship with the Canadian relative. An entrepreneur must have at least 25 units of assessment. All other independent immigrants must have at least 50 units out of the possible 100 units.

A priority order for processing applications has been fixed. Under Section 3 of the 1978 Immigration Regulations, (the 1978 regulations put the new Act into operation.) it is stipulated that:

> "Applications for immigrant visas shall be processed in the following priority:
>
> "(a) members of the family class, Convention refugees seeking resettlement and members of classes of persons designated pursuant to paragraph 115(1)(d) of the [1976] Act [i.e., anyone admitted as a refugee on humanitarian grounds];
>
> (b) persons who are qualified for and are willing to engage in employment in a designated occupation;
>
> "(c) persons who have arranged employment in Canada and are able to meet the criteria set out [(i) a person who has arranged employment based on the information provided by the National Employment Service. The job offer must offer reasonable prospects of continuing and wages and working conditions sufficient to attract and retain in employment Canadian citizens or permanent residents; (ii) if that offer won't adversely affect employment opportunities for Canadian citizens or residents; and (iii) if that person is likely to meet all federal, provincial and other applicable licensing and regulatory requirements related to the employment];
>
> "(d) entrepreneurs;
>
> "(e) retired persons and self-employed persons;
>
> "(f) persons who are awarded more than eight units of assessment on the basis of the factor set out in item 4 [occupational demand];
>
> "(g) persons who are awarded at least four but not more than eight units of assessment on the basis of occupational demand; and

TABLE 3.2 SELECTION CRITERIA FOR THE 1976 IMMIGRATION ACT: SUMMARY OF SELECTION FACTORS.**

FACTORS	CRITERIA	APPLICABLE TO: 1	2	3	4	5
1. Education	One point for each year of primary and secondary education successfully completed.	12	*	*	*	*
2. Specific Vocational Preparation	To be measured by the amount of formal professional, vocational, apprenticeship, in-plant or on-the-job training necessary for average performance in the occupation under which the applicant is assessed in item 4.	15	*	*	*	*
3. Experience	Points awarded for experience in the occupation under which the applicant is assessed in item 4 or, in the case of an entrepreneur, for experience in the occupation that the entrepreneur is qualified for and is prepared to follow in Canada.	8	*	*	*	*
4. Occupational Demand	Points awarded on the basis of employment opportunities available in Canada in the occupation that the applicant is qualified for and is prepared to follow in Canada.	15	*		*	*

... (Cont.)

Table 3.2 (Cont.)

5. Arranged Employment or Designated Occupation	Ten points awarded if the person has arranged employment in Canada that offers reasonalbe prospects of continuity and meets local conditions of work and wages, providing that employment of that person would not interfere with the job opportunities of Canadian citizens or permanent residents, and the person will likely be able to meet all licensing and regulatory requirements; or the person is qualified for, and is prepared to work in, a designated occupation and meets all the conditions mentioned for arranged employment except that concerning Canadian citizens and permanent residents.	10				*
6. Location	Five points awarded to a person who intends to proceed to an area designated as one having a sustained and general need for people at various levels in the employment strata and the necessary services to accommodate population growth. Five points subtracted from a person who intends to proceed to an area designated as not having such a need or such services.	5	*	*		*
7. Age	Ten points awarded to a person 18 to 35 years old. For those over 35, one point shall be subtracted from the maximum of 10 for every year over 35.	10	*	*	*	*

... (Cont.)

Table 3.2 (Cont.)

8. Knowledge of English and French	Ten points awarded to a person who reads, writes and speaks both English and French fluently. Five points awarded to a person who reads, writes and speaks English or French fluently. Fewer points awarded to persons with less language knowledge and ability in English or French.	10	*	*		*
9. Personal Suitablility	Points awarded on the basis of an interview held to determine the suitability of the person and his/her dependants to become successfully established in Canada, based on the person's adaptability, motivation, initiative, resourcefulness and other similar qualities.	10	*	*	*	*
10. Relative	Where a person would be an assisted relative, if a relative in Canada had undertaken to assist him/her, and an immigration officer is satisfied that the relative in Canada is willing to help him/her become established but is not prepared, or is unable, to complete the necessary formal documentation to bring the person to Canada, the person shall be awarded five points.	5	*	*		*

Notes:

** - Members of the family class and retirees are not selected according to these criteria; Convention refugees are assessed against the factors listed in the first column but do not receive a point rating.

1 - Max. points.
2 - Self-employed.
3 - Entrepreneurs.
4 - Assisated relatives.
5 - Others.

Source: Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, 1978b, pp. 16-17.

"(h) all other immigrants not referred to in any of paragraphs (a) to (g)."

Another important development in the Canadian immigration policy has been in the allocation of overseas immigration offices. Although the overseas offices have not been of equal size it has been noted that previously all the offices were found only in some preferred countries. The distribution has been diversified and increased outside Europe and the United States since 1967 (see Table 3.3). Africa had only one office in 1963, two offices in 1973 and five offices in 1979 (Table 3.4). More than half of the overseas immigration offices are now found in developing countries. This has important implications for African immigration because, as Parai (1975, p.461) has pointed out, the size and location of the offices indicate the efforts being put forth to recruit immigrants and the number of persons who inquire or apply to immigrate to Canada.

D. Summary

The foregoing discussion presents the changes in the Canadian immigration policy during the postwar period. The policy changed from the position of favouring certain ethnic groups to accepting all while at the same time favouring well educated and experienced immigrants. The policy also changed from being more or less non-Government-controlled to a strictly Government-controlled area. An objective way of selecting immigrants has been established. Moreover, new immigration offices have been opened in various parts of the world in the postwar period. Furthermore, apart from using immigration to stimulate economic development through the expansion of the domestic market, reduce per capita costs of administration, stimulate economic activity by providing new skills, new ideas and new enthusiasm, as well as to encourage social and cultural independence and creativity, the Government encourages family reunion and the resettlement of refugees. All of these have been done in order to promote the Canadian national goals and interests.

How does all of this relate to African immigration? The relevance of immigration policy changes in Canada lies in the fact that, other things being equal, they have been the major force in controlling patterns of immigration into Canada. As the next chapter will show, African immigration to Canada prior to 1962 was negligible because African immigrants were considered to be undesirable and therefore their entry was largely

TABLE 3.3 NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF CANADIAN IMMIGRATION OFFICES ABROAD FOR SELECTED YEARS*

REGION	1946	1953	1963	1973
United Kingdom and Ireland	1	5	7	6
Northern Europe[1]	1	11	14	12
Southern Europe[2]		2	4	8
Middle East[3]			1	3
Asia[4]		2	2	7
Central and South America[5]				4
United States			4	12
Africa			1	2
	2	20	33	55[6]

Notes:

* - For other areas apart from Africa these represent the latest data available.
1 - France, Germany, Austria, Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland.
2 - Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain, Hungary, Yugoslavia.
3 - Israel, Lebanon.
4 - Hong Kong, India, Pakistan, Japan, Philippines.
5 - Jamaica, Trinidad, Argentina.
6 - Total includes an office opened in 1968 in Australia.

Source: Parai 1975, Table 2.

TABLE 3.4 IMMIGRATION OFFICES IN AFRICA

LOCATION AND DATE OPENED	AREAL RESPONSIBILITY
Abidjan, Ivory Coast January 1, 1976	Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, St. Helena, Angola, Benin, Cameroon, Cape Verde Islands, Central African Republic, Chad, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Sao Tome y Principe, Senegal, Togo and Upper Volta.
Cairo, Egypt February 1, 1963	Sudan.
Marseille, France n.d. [a]	Algeria, Tunisia.
Nairobi, Kenya January 1, 1973	Burundi, Comoro Islands, Congo, Crozet Islands, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Malagasy Republic, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Reunion, Rwanda, Seychelles, Somali Republic, Tanzania, Uganda, Zaire and Zambia.
Pretoria, South Africa January 1, 1977	Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, Swaziland, Zimbabwe.
Rabat, Morocco n.d. [a]	Locally engaged (no areal responsibility).

Note:

n.d. [a] - no date supplied.

Source: Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, Special Tabulation.

restricted. Moreover, the recent 1976 Immigration Act has been, in the main, a reaction to a large influx of coloured people, including Africans entering under European quotas. In this regard an analysis of the immigration policy changes is not only pertinent, but an important, integral part in understanding African immigration to Canada since World War II. On the other hand it should be pointed out that immigration patterns and flows are determined not only by an immigration policy prevailing at a given time, but also by the world-wide supply of and demand for immigrants and by emigration and immigration policies of other countries. Canadian immigration has been sensitive to the expansions and slowdowns in the economy. This has been revealed in the fluctuations of the yearly volumes of immigration.

IV. PATTERNS OF IMMIGRATION INTO CANADA SINCE 1946

So dubious are the advantages of immigration that one wonders why the governments of industrial nations favour it. Why do they use such devices as advance job placement, housing aid, bilateral agreements on visas and work permits, and (in countries of origin) official propaganda, recruiting offices and preparatory training programs? Strictly speaking, except where former colonies are involved, their efforts are not directed to the most backward countries but to the quasi-developed ones. Still, why invite immigrants at all?

Kingsley Davis 1974
The Migrations of Human Populations
p.104.

A. Introduction

Immigration to Canada underwent some major shifts in immigration patterns and flows since World War II. The shifts have been induced by various factors especially the economic conditions in Canada (Green 1976; Hawkins 1972; Marr 1976) and the immigration policy changes which have been sensitive to economic conditions. In certain cases the consequences have been profound as has been witnessed in the volume, areas of origin, areas of destination and occupational characteristics of the immigrants. The present chapter endeavours to highlight some of the effects of immigration to Canada to provide general background against which African immigration will be discussed.

B. Volume of Immigration

About 5 million immigrants entered Canada between 1946 and 1979. The highest volume of immigration occurred in 1957 when 282,000 immigrants were admitted (Table 4.1). As noted earlier the Hungarian and Suez Canal crises had much to do with that large number. Furthermore, these two events coincided with Canada's early postwar thriving economy. After 1957 the volume of immigration dropped as a result of a recession in Canada which continued until 1961. The economy started to recover at the end of 1961 and more immigrants began entering Canada. The 1960s were years of economic expansion and a period of changed attitudes towards immigration. The number of

TABLE 4.1 TOTAL VOLUME OF IMMIGRATION TO CANADA, 1946-1979

YEAR	VOLUME	YEAR	VOLUME	YEAR	VOLUME
1946	71,719	1958	124,851	1970	147,713
1947	64,127	1959	106,928	1971	121,900
1948	125,414	1960	104,111	1972	122,006
1949	95,217	1961	71,689	1973	184,200
1950	73,912	1962	74,586	1974	218,465
1951	194,391	1963	93,151	1975	187,881
1952	164,498	1964	112,606	1976	149,429
1953	168,868	1965	146,758	1977	114,914
1954	154,227	1966	194,743	1978	86,313
1955	109,946	1967	222,876	1979	112,096
1956	164,857	1968	183,974		
1957	282,164	1969	161,531	TOTAL	4,712,061

Sources: Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1974b, Table 3.1.
Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, *Immigration Statistics, 1974-1979*.

immigrants steadily increased from 72,000 in 1961 to 223,000 in 1967. Since then numbers declined to 122,000 in 1971, rose to 219,000 in 1974 and then steadily declined again to 112,000 immigrants in 1979. Of the four periods studied the years 1967-1975 were noted for the highest annual intake of immigrants (Table 4.2).

However, not all immigrants who come to Canada necessarily stay permanently. Some either return to their home country, move to the United States or move to some other country of immigration. There are various estimates of emigration that can be cited. For instance, Keyfitz and Henripin (1963, p.178) suggested that between 1860 and 1960 there were just as many people coming to Canada as were leaving.

Kelly (1977), St. John-Jones (1979) and Taylor (1979) all agree that emigration from Canada cannot be fully appreciated because no correct statistics exist. There are basically three reasons for this lack of data: (1) Canada does not have an exit-visa registration; (2) even in countries which keep records of Canadian immigrants like the United Kingdom and the United States, returning emigrants are not registered as such; (3) the number of immigrants who return to their country other than the United Kingdom and the United States has been grossly underestimated at 20,000 per annum, by Statistics Canada, but since there are no records to the contrary, this figure has been used in estimating emigration.

Prior to 1961 emigration was estimated at 565,000 or 38 per cent of the immigrants. St. John-Jones (1979, p.18) has stated that conservatively, during the 1960s for every ten immigrants who arrived in Canada, four left. This is yet another underestimation because no account has been taken of the emigration of the Canadian-born (Taylor 1979). According to Taylor estimated emigration for the 1961-1971 period should be about 900,000 or an average of 90,000 emigrants per annum; and over the 1971-1976 period between 61,000 and 72,000. Statistics Canada previously put the estimates at 65,000 emigrants. It has adjusted the figures to the above quoted estimates.[2]

However, estimates by Beaujot (1978) indicate that compared to earlier periods of immigration (before 1946) the postwar period has witnessed more immigrants than emigrants. The periods of substantial migration losses, mainly to the United States, were

---

[2] Since Kelly (1977) made the adjustments to the emigration data, his estimates have been adopted by Statistics Canada.

TABLE 4.2 AVERAGE ANNUAL IMMIGRATION TO CANADA BY MAJOR SOURCES AND BY MAJOR PERIODS OF IMMIGRATION, 1956-1979.

AREA	1956-1961		1962-1966		1967-1975	
	a	b	a	b	a	b
Europe[1]	81,852	57.4	57,944	46.6	54,290	31.5
United Kingdom	38,972	27.4	34,527	27.8	32,538	18.9
Africa	1,361	1.0	3,067	2.5	6,194	3.4
Asia	3,847	2.7	7,463	6.0	30,395	17.6
Australasia[2]	2,036	1.4	2,429	2.0	3,585	2.1
North and Central America[3]	1,497	1.1	2,937	2.4	14,527	8.4
United States	10,955	7.7	13,720	11.0	22,843	13.3
South America	1,828	1.3	2,043	1.6	6,857	4.0
Oceania[4]	-	-	-	-	623	0.4
Others	85	0.1	240	0.2	430	0.3
TOTAL ANNUAL AVERAGE	142,433	100.1	124,370	100.1	172,283	99.9

AREA	1976-1979		TOTAL	
	a	b	a	b
Europe[1]	22,348	19.3	56,660	38.9
United Kingdom	16,050	13.9	31,813	21.9
Africa	5,586	4.8	4,233	2.9
Asia	37,561	32.5	20,175	13.9
Australasia[2]	1,515	1.3	2,612	1.8
North and Central America[3]	11,454	9.9	8,343	5.7
United States	12,441	10.8	16,237	11.2
South America	7,787	6.7	4,752	3.2
Oceania[4]	943	0.8	722[c]	0.3
Others	5	*	234	0.2
TOTAL ANNUAL AVERAGE	115,690	100.0	145,781	100.0

Notes:

* - Less than 0.1 per cent.
a - Number.
b - Percentage distribution.
c - Percentage calculated for last 13 years.
1 - Europe excluding the United Kingdom.
2 - Australasia includes Australia, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea.
3 - North and Central America excluding the United States.
4 - Oceania includes smaller islands. Category was established during the 1967-1975 period. Probably included in the "Others" category before then.

Source: Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, Immigration Statistics, 1956-1979.

in the last four decades of the nineteenth century and in the 1930s (Figure 4.1).

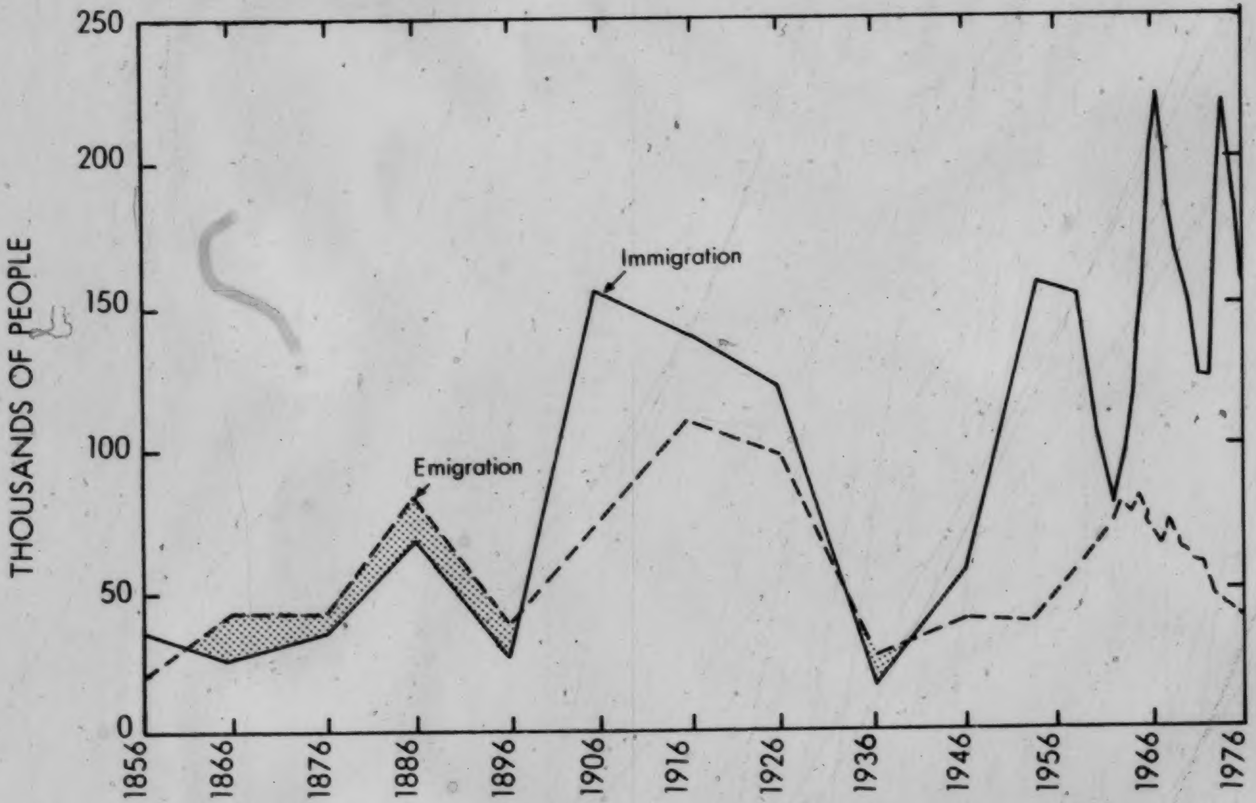
C. Areas of Origin

Among the most noticeable changes in migration patterns to Canada has been that of the source areas of immigrants. Prior to 1962 admission was based on ethnic and geographical origin and most of the immigrants came from Europe and the United States. After removing the ethnic barriers in 1962 and 1967 Canada started to experience increases in both number and proportion of immigrants from those countries which were hitherto non-preferred, and particularly from developing countries.

Table 4.2 shows immigration to Canada by major areas of emigration. For comparative purposes and because of the special position the immigrants from the United Kingdom and the United States have had in the history of Canadian immigration, their figures are kept separately from those of Europe and North and Central America, respectively. It can be observed that immigration from Europe has been predominant for all the periods under consideration. Immigration from the United States increased markedly during the 1967-1975 period. There is no doubt that a part of this was due to the influx of draft dodgers of the Vietnam War era in the late 1960s. Estimates of draft dodgers and deserters range from 30,000 to 60,000 (Killmer *et al* 1971; Williams 1971). However, the Vietnam War is not the full answer since larger inflows from the United States have persisted in the 1970s.

During the 1956-1961 period most of the immigrants came from Europe (85 per cent - including the United Kingdom which contributed 27 per cent). The next large proportion came from the United States (8 per cent). During 1962-1966 most of the immigrants came from Europe, the United Kingdom and the United States in that order. Between 1967 and 1975 these three respectively, contributed 32, 19 and 13 per cent of the total immigration. But by then United States was replaced by Asia (18 per cent) as the third largest source of Canadian immigrants. During the 1976-1979 period most of the immigrants came from Asia (33 per cent), Europe (19 per cent) and the United Kingdom (14 per cent). Again the United States was the fourth largest source of immigrants with 11 per cent of immigrants. African immigration increased from 1 per

FIGURE 4.1 IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION: CANADA 1851-1976



Data based on ten-year averages for 1851 to 1951 and five-year averages for 1951 to 1961, plotted at mid-point for each ten- or five-year intercensal period, and thereafter actual annual immigration totals and emigration estimates.

▨ Net migration loss

Source: Beaujot 1978, Figure 5.

cent in the 1956–1961 period to 5 per cent in the 1976–1979 period.

Thus, two trends can be identified: a decreasing proportion of immigrants from Europe on one hand, and an increasing proportion of immigrants from developing countries on the other, particularly from Asia (see Figure 4.2). The response to the Canadian manpower requirements was responsible for increased immigration from developing countries. According to Marr (1976):

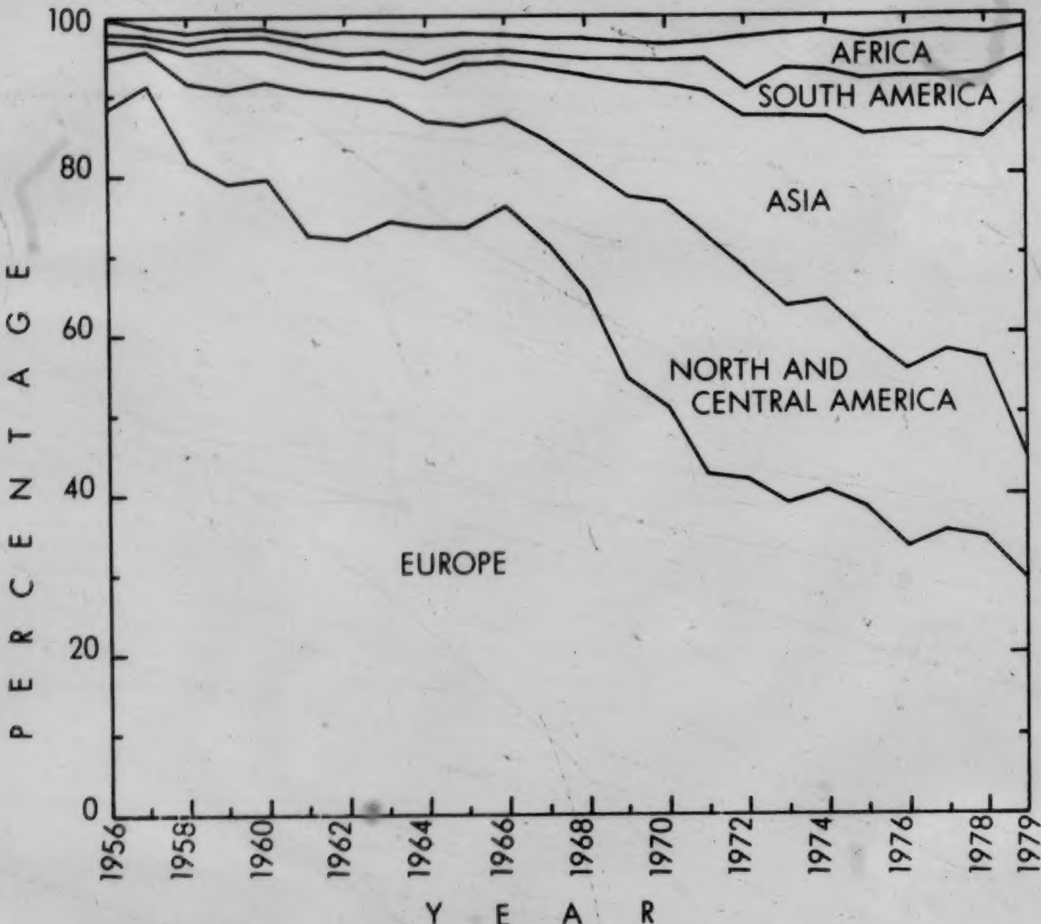
> "the response of immigration from Africa and South and Central America is different after 1962 or 1967 than before. Either immigration from these areas responded to Canadian labour market conditions only after 1962 or 1967, or the response after this date was greater than before that time. African immigrants differ from those from South and Central America in that the former responded to the Canadian labour market conditions for the entire period" (p.38).

D. Destination of Immigrants

Immigrants are responsive to opportunities at the destination. In Canada, intended destinations of immigrants tend to follow the perceived socioeconomic opportunities existing in different geographical regions of Canada at the time of immigrating. Immigrants prefer urban centres because there they are more likely to find employment, housing, be near shops, doctors' offices, community services and have better prospects of living near relatives and friends with whom they may speak their language or enjoy common cultural activities. This is to be expected because given the spatial differentiation of socioeconomic conditions and information about potential destinations immigrants choose provinces which promise them higher net place utility. A move may not necessarily lead to the immigrant adapting to a new set of behavioural norms at the destination. Instead it may lead to new information about alternative places and since the patterns of opportunity differentials change over time, spatial mobility continues to take place after immigrants have arrived in Canada. It has been noted that although both native-born and foreign-born have responded to industrialization and urbanization in Canada the latter are more migratory (Richmond and Kalbach 1980, p.165).

Immigrants are not evenly distributed in Canada. This is again not surprising since the Canadian immigration policy deliberately selects immigrants to go to areas of highest economic opportunities to meet the needs of industries which have been expanding more rapidly and to fill vacancies where demand for labour has been greatest. Most of the

FIGURE 4.2 IMMIGRATION INTO CANADA BY MAJOR SOURCE AREAS OF IMMIGRANTS, 1956-1979 *



*100% Total number of immigrants in each year

Source: Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, *Immigration Statistics, 1956-1979*.

immigrants plan to go to Ontario, mainly to Toronto and partly to Hamilton. Other immigrants in descending order go to Quebec (mainly Montreal), British Columbia (mainly Vancouver), the Prairie Provinces (especially Alberta in recent years) and to the Atlantic Provinces. Shaw *et al* (1973) suggested that although the Atlantic Provinces and Saskatchewan receive only small proportions of immigrants, they tend to gain a high flow of skilled professional manpower. According to Parai (1974) :

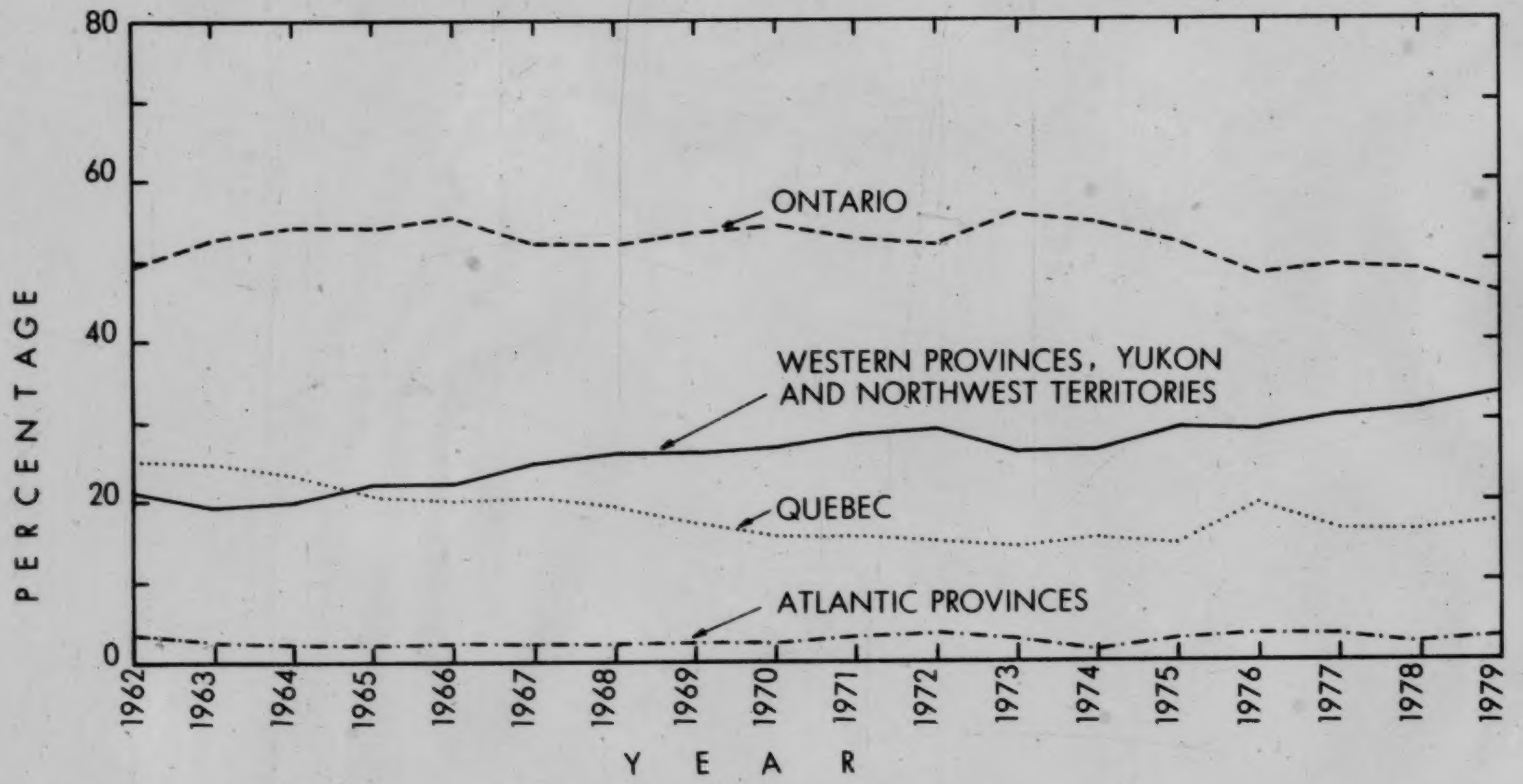
> "Most urban centers have experienced substantial population growth over the years, and this has been significantly brought about by post-war immigration. Professional and skilled immigrant workers show a preference for an urban industrial location; and often nominated and sponsored immigrants settle close to their relatives and within their ethnic neighbourhood, so that urban centers are made larger" (pp.69-70).

Figure 4.3 shows the intended destinations of immigrants to Canada since 1962. It can be noted that Ontario has been receiving about half of all the immigrants except in the last four years (1976 to 1979) when just less than 50 per cent of the immigrants went there. The proportion of immigrants intending to settle in Quebec has steadily declined from 26 per cent in 1962 to 17 per cent in 1979. Generally, only the Western Provinces have been experiencing an increasing proportion of immigrants in the postwar period. Immigrants intending to settle in Western Provinces rose from 21 per cent in 1962 to 33 per cent in 1979. Compared with the others the Atlantic Provinces have been receiving, proportionately, very few immigrants. This has not always been the case as Richmond and Kalbach (1980) have noted:

> "The major destinations of immigrants shifted from Eastern Canada to Central and Western Canada, and the provinces of early settlement began to experience high out-migration as the areas further west began to develop. While significant declines in their populations were avoided as a result of their continuing high levels of natural increase, their proportionate share of the nation's population has continued to decline over the years" (p.166).

Montreal and Toronto deserve special mention. These are the two largest metropolitan areas in Canada. Between them they have just under 50 per cent of the population in metropolitan areas and in 1976 together they had about a quarter of the nation's population. They also attract most of the immigrants. Montreal and Toronto had in 1976 foreign-born populations of 15 and 33 per cent, respectively (Richmond and Kalbach 1980, p.158).

FIGURE 4.3 INTENDED DESTINATION OF IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA, 1962-1979



Source: Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, *Immigration Statistics*, 1962-1979.

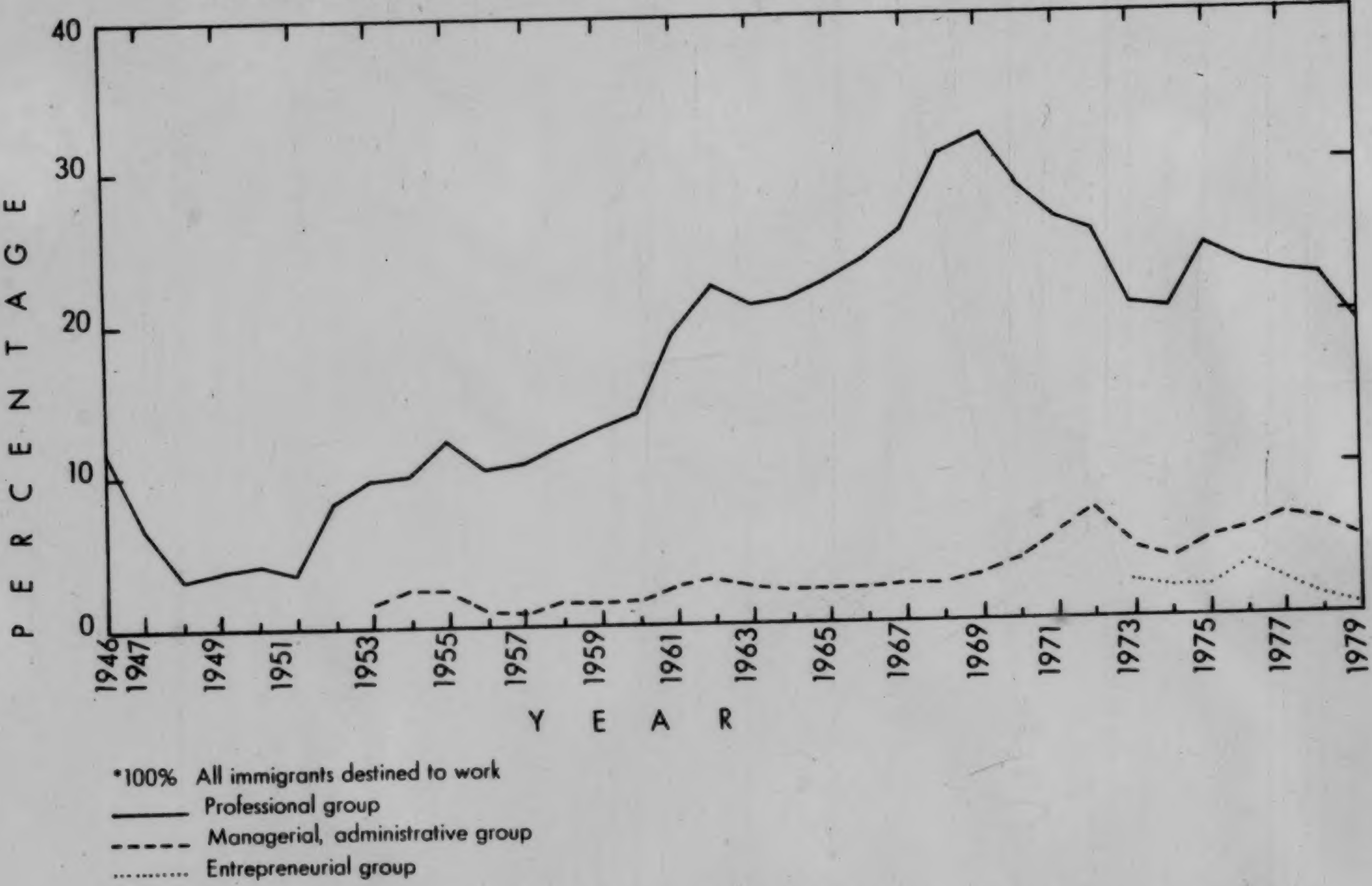
E. Occupational Characteristics of Immigrants

Beginning with 1962 more highly educated, better qualified and experienced immigrants have been gaining entry into Canada. This has been a result of the structural changes which have occurred in the Canadian economy to which the immigration policy has responded. For most of the postwar period there have been at least fifty per cent of immigrants destined to the labour force (Figure 4.4). The proportion dropped below 50 per cent from 1976. It is interesting to note that there were more immigrants destined to work in the 1950s than for any other period. The curve has been rising and falling as economic conditions have been improving and deteriorating. The drop in the last four years may be directly linked to the deliberate emphasis the immigration policy now places on the immigration of family classes rather than on that of independent immigrants. Moreover, economic conditions in Canada since the mid-1970s have not been favourable to immigration of workers. The postwar baby boom cohort has been entering the labour force. This means that now various kinds of manpower needs are being met locally which in the past would have forced the recruitment of labour from outside Canada. Since Canadians have to be considered first in job placement, the necessity to admit immigrants of the same educational qualifications and skills has been reduced, though not eliminated.

The proportion of immigrants destined to managerial occupations has been small but steadily increasing from 1.5 per cent to 5.2 per cent in 1979 since this category was created in 1953. The proportion of immigrants intending to enter professional jobs has been rising from the early 1950s. The increases were, however, more dramatic in the 1960s when the proportion of professionals rose from 11.5 per cent in 1962 to a peak of 31.9 per cent in 1969. Since 1970 the proportion of immigrants intending to enter professional occupations has been declining. There are two 'jumps' worth notice which occurred in 1962 and 1967. These were the years of new immigration regulations which emphasized the admission of well educated and trained persons.

It has been noted that post-1961 immigrant males have contributed, proportionally more manpower to the manufacturing, construction, transportation and tertiary sectors of the Canadian economy, than the Canadian-born. It is further noted that immigrant females are more likely to enter the labour force than Canadian-born females. This has been attributed to higher labour force participation rates of the immigrants.

FIGURE 4.4 IMMIGRANTS DESTINED TO THE LABOUR FORCE, PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF GIVEN OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, 1946-1979*



*100% All immigrants destined to work

Sources: Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration 1974c, Table 5.4.
Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, *Immigration Statistics*, 1974-1979.

Richmond and Kalbach (1980) have noted that:

> "Generally, labour force participation rates of the foreign-born were higher than those of Canadian-born. Immigrants who had arrived in Canada between 1946 and 1960 had the highest participation rates. Earlier and later arrivals had somewhat lower participation rates, although these were still higher than those of Canadian-born. Immigrants in the younger and older age groups were also more likely to be in the labour force than those of the same age born in Canada" (p.276).

F. Contribution of Immigrants to Canadian Population Growth

Table 4.3 shows that net immigration in the post war period has been a significant component of population growth. Although the proportion has been fluctuating it can be stated that since 1963 immigration has been responsible for upholding continued growth in the Canadian population. The highest contribution occurred in 1973 and 1974 when 44.2 and 44.7 per cent, respectively, of the total growth was accounted for by net immigration. This indicates two trends. Kalbach (1974, p.65) had observed that whereas the family sizes for families with native-born heads had declined those for the foreign-born had actually increased between 1961 and 1971. Later it was noted that the family size for postwar immigrants and for the native-born have recently tended to converge in terms of average family size (Richmond and Kalbach 1980, p.95).

G. Immigration in 1979

Immigration in 1979 reflected the recent policy of adhering to immigration quotas predetermined by the Minister of Employment and Immigration. According to the forecast only 100,000 immigrants were supposed to be admitted. There was a problem filling the quota, so, in order to reach the 1979 immigration level of 100,000 the ten-point deduction system for independent immigrants and assisted relatives lacking pre-arranged employment or a validated job offer was suspended from May to November in 1979. About 112,000 immigrants were admitted to Canada. The 'surplus' of the immigrants was generated by the admission of more Boat People than was originally planned. For the first time, Asia took over from Europe as the largest source of immigrants (45 per cent).

TABLE 4.3 CONTRIBUTION OF NET IMMIGRATION TO TOTAL CANADIAN POPULATION GROWTH, 1946-1977. (Percentage)

YEAR	INCREASE	YEAR	INCREASE	YEAR	INCREASE
1946	8.1	1957	29.1	1968	29.0
1947	15.1	1958	16.9	1969	27.4
1948	17.2	1959	12.4	1970	19.9
1949	7.9	1960	8.2	1971	12.4
1950	14.8	1961	4.6	1972	23.2
1951	40.9	1962	6.6	1973	44.2
1952	27.5	1963	12.5	1974	44.7
1953	31.7	1964	16.7	1975	35.1
1954	23.4	1965	31.5	1976	27.2
1955	18.5	1966	36.1	1977	15.2
1956	37.8	1967	34.1		

Sources: Motuz 1974, Table 3.
Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration 1980, p. 5.

Europe was second with 29 per cent of the total immigration.

Table 4.4 shows the countries which sent at least 2,000 immigrants to Canada in 1979. With the exception of two European countries (England and Portugal) and the United States, all other countries listed here are the developing countries, of which only Guyana and Jamaica are outside Asia. The eleven top ranking countries represent 61.7 per cent of the total 1979 immigration.

Of the 112,000 that were admitted, about 48,000 (or 43 per cent) of them were destined to the labour force. Of the 48,000 0.6, 5.2 and 8.2 per cent, respectively intended to enter entrepreneurial, managerial and professional occupations. The intended destinations of 1979 immigrants were as follows: Ontario 46.3 per cent, the Western Provinces 33.2 per cent, Quebec 17.4 per cent and the Atlantic Provinces merely 3 per cent.

H. Summary

The most important characteristic of the postwar period has been the general increase in the proportion of multi-ethnic groups other than British and French. It can also be noted that more and more immigrants have been responding to the Canadian economic conditions and immigration policy. The origins of the immigrants have been diversified since 1962 and developing countries have responded by providing more and more immigrants for Canada. Meanwhile, though immigration from Europe still predominates, the proportion of immigrants from there has been decreasing to the point where Asia has taken over as the main source of immigrants (at least for the latest 1979 immigration year). Immigrants intend to stay in areas of high socioeconomic potentials and opportunities though a few big metropolitan cities (Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver) still attract most of the immigrants. Those in professional, managerial and entrepreneurial occupations have increased or fluctuated following the immigration policy changes.

The discussion has also indicated that immigration from Africa is still at a low level as compared to the number and proportion from other continents. On the other hand, it is seen that immigration from Africa has been steadily increasing since World War II. The patterns and flows of African immigration to Canada are analyzed in the next chapters.

TABLE 4.4 COUNTRIES OF LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE FROM WHICH AT LEAST 2,000 PEOPLE IMMIGRATED TO CANADA, 1979.

COUNTRY	TOTAL NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION*
Vietnam	19,859	17.7
England	10,008	8.9
United States	9,617	8.6
Hong Kong	5,966	5.3
India	4,517	4.0
Laos	3,903	3.5
Philippines	3,873	3.5
Portugal	3,723	3.3
Jamaica	3,213	2.9
Guyana	2,473	2.2
China[a]	2,058	1.8
TOTAL	69,210	61.7

Notes:
* - 100% = total immigration.
a - Does not include Taiwan.

Source: Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, 1980, Table 3.

V. AFRICAN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA SINCE WORLD WAR II

Better statistical information is available on intercontinental migration from Africa than on intra-continental movements, since in the former case the migrants can be traced in the statistics collected by the countries of immigration.

United Nations 1979
Trends and Characteristics of International migration Since 1950
p.35.

A. Introduction

According to Lanphier (1979) who has studied the Third World immigration to Canada its share, in terms of volume, increased from 8 per cent in 1961 to 53 per cent in 1977; and since 1973 about 50 per cent of all immigrants to Canada have been from the Third World. The largest number of Third World immigrants has been from Asia, principally Hong Kong and India, and in 1979 because of the refugee urgency, Vietnam. The second largest group has been from the Caribbean Islands, principally Jamaica, Trinidad/Tobago and Haiti. Africa constitutes, even among Third World immigration, relatively small proportions of immigrants.

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze trends and patterns in African immigration to Canada since the Second World War. Unless indicated otherwise the immigrants from Africa are those whose last permanent residence was in an African country based on published data from the Department of Employment and Immigration. Efforts have also been made to incorporate data from other sources.

B. Volume and Origin of African Immigration to Canada

There were approximately 106,000 immigrants from Africa who were admitted into Canada between 1946 and 1979. As will be seen later most of these arrived in the late 1960s or 1970s. The data prior to 1962 are insufficient to analyze the trends of immigration of Africans to Canada. In any case they were very few of them (Table 5.1).

TABLE 5.1 **AFRICAN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA, 1946-1979*.**

YEAR	VOLUME	YEAR	VOLUME	YEAR	VOLUME
1946	184	1958	1,355	1970	2,863
1947	135	1959	843	1971	2,841
1948	211	1960	833	1972	8,308
1949	232	1961	1,088	1973	8,307
1950	213	1962	2,171	1974	10,450
1951	313	1963	2,431	1975	9,867
1952	698	1964	3,874	1976	7,752
1953	902	1965	3,196	1977	6,372
1954	755	1966	3,661	1978	4,261
1955	548	1967	4,608	1979	3,958
1956	1,079	1968	5,204		
1957	2,970	1969	3,297	TOTAL	105,780

Note:

* Before 1955 figures for South Africa were included with "Britain and Colonies," a category which included Australia, India, Ireland, New Zealand and Pakistan.

Sources: Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, Special Tabulation.
Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, 1980, Immigration Statistics, 1979.

CANADIAN THESES 56929 THESES CANADIENNES	AUTHOR/AUTEUR MUNDENDE, D.C. AFRICAN IMMIGRATION TO...	ISBN 0-315-09012-X

Between 1961 and 1977 African immigration by countries of citizenship rose from 1 to 6 per cent of the total volume of immigration. It rose from 1.5 to 5.6 per cent considering countries of last permanent residence (Figure 5.1). There are three noticeable rises which occurred in 1962, 1968 and 1972. Part of the explanation for the rises lies in the fact that in 1962 and 1967 immigration rules and regulations were changed to admit all immigrants irrespective of their geographical areas of origin or race. The responses to the new regulations appear to have been spontaneous and considerable. As for 1972 it is evident that the Ugandan Asians who were expelled during the Idi Amin regime swelled the total number of immigrants. Canada accepted about 6,000 Ugandan Asians. Doubtlessly, all of these "refugees" were carefully scrutinized and screened. As Dirk (1977) has stated:

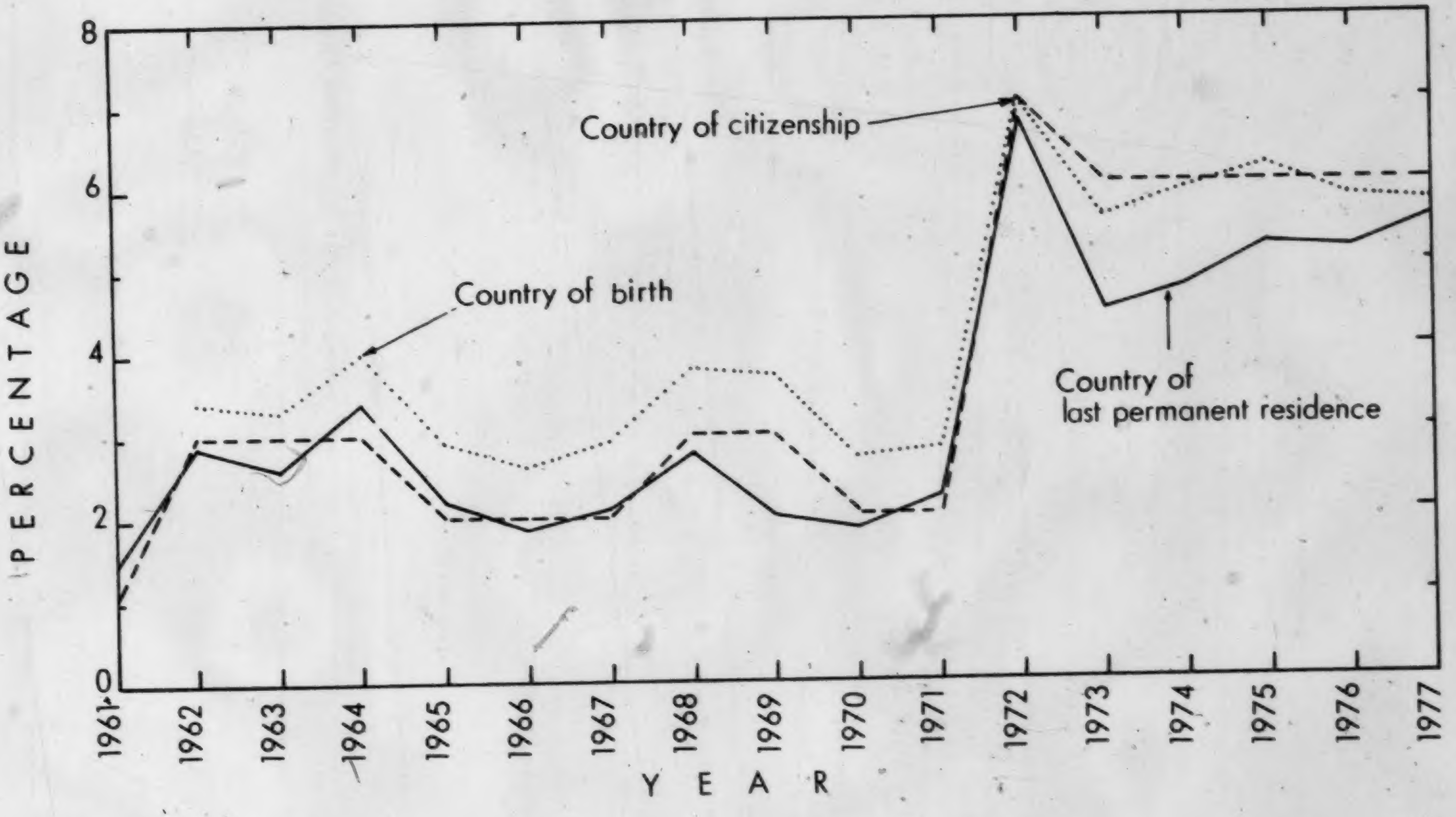
> "The reasons behind the Canadian decision to accept several thousand Ugandan Asians for settlement are apparent. The refugees spoke English, possessed above average educations, and were considered to be self-reliant. In addition the majority of those applying to enter Canada easily qualified for admission under normal immigration regulations. These people, therefore, were the type Canada's immigration policy sought to attract. The only procedures and service programs which distinguished the Ugandan Asian movement from normal immigration patterns consisted of the dispatching of an immigration team to Kampala where no officials were normally posted, and the transporting of refugees to Canada, initially at government expense. Once in Canada, the refugees found themselves treated for the most part like any other immigrants with respect to government services"(p.244).

Immigration from Africa more than doubled in the 1970s (Table 5.1).

Relatively few immigrants have come from Central and Western Africa, although the proportions of immigrants from these two regions have been increasing (Figure 5.2). The main source region during 1964-1966 was Northern Africa. In the subsequent periods, 1967-1975 and 1976-1979, the predominant position was held by Eastern Africa; but the proportion from Southern Africa increased almost equalling that for Eastern Africa in the latter period.

Immigration from Africa has been dominated by a few countries; and the above shift in sources can be explained by the changes in the countries which have been sending most immigrants to Canada. Ten countries have monopolized immigration flows (Table 5.2). Over time their composition and ranking have changed. It is interesting to note that the cutoff point has been rising from 16 immigrants in 1964 to 71 in 1979, even reaching 108 in 1976; and that the overall share of these ten countries declined from 98 to 87 per cent of overall immigration in 1964 and 1976 respectively.

FIGURE 5.1 IMMIGRATION TO CANADA BY COUNTRY OF LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE AND COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP, 1961-1977*



*100% All immigrants

Sources: Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, *Immigration Statistics, 1961-1977.*
Lanphier 1979, Table 1.

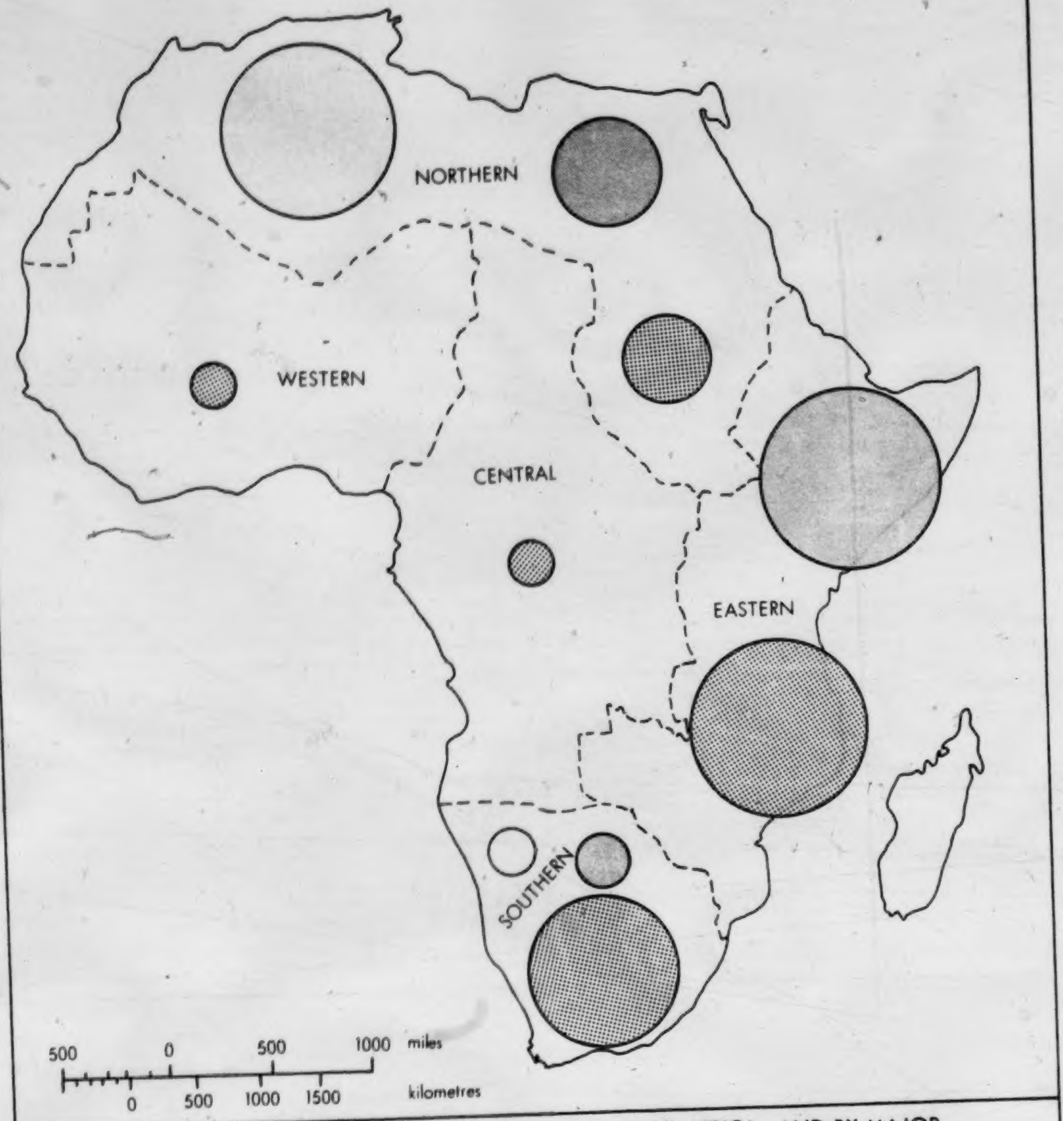
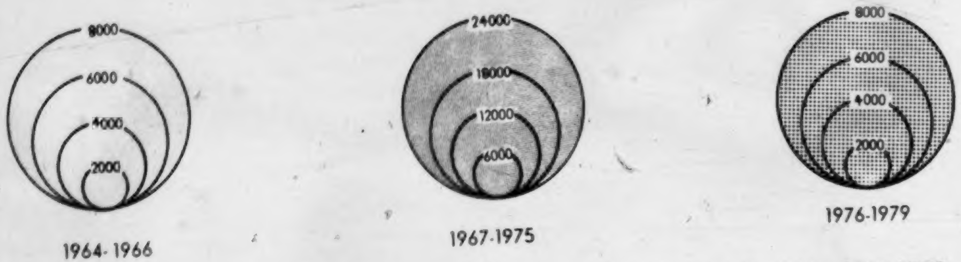

NORTHERN
WESTERN
CENTRAL
EASTERN
SOUTHERN
500
0
500
1000
miles
0
500
1000
1500
kilometres

FIGURE 5.2 IMMIGRATION TO CANADA BY REGIONS OF AFRICA AND BY MAJOR PERIODS OF IMMIGRATION, 1964-1979


8000
6000
4000
2000
1964-1966
24000
18000
12000
6000
1967-1975
8000
6000
4000
2000
1976-1979

Source: Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, *Immigration Statistics, 1964-1979.*

TABLE 5.2 AFRICAN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA: TOP TEN LARGEST SOURCE AREAS OF IMMIGRANTS, SELECTED YEARS.[a]

1964		1968		1972	
Egypt	1,855	Egypt	1,915	Uganda	5,021
Morocco	1,092	Morocco	1,336	Tanzania	1,105
South Africa	417	South Africa	921	Egypt	606
Zimbabwe	169	Kenya	359	South Africa	440
Zambia	86	Tanzania	135	Kenya	320
Kenya	83	Zambia	106	Morocco	236
Tunisia	38	Nigeria	78	Nigeria	134
Nigeria	24	Uganda	62	Ghana	92
Ghana	19	Ghana	57	Zambia	78
Libya	16	Tunisia	37	Tunisia	49
	3,799		5,006		8,081
	98.1%[b]		96.2%[b]		97.3%[b]

1976		1979	
South Africa	1,611	South Africa	1,339
Tanzania	1,299	Tanzania	535
Kenya	1,202	Egypt	511
Angola	912	Kenya	319
Egypt	728	Zimbabwe	210
Mozambique	252	Morocco	145
Ghana	220	Ghana	137
Nigeria	194	Nigeria	98
Zambia	193	Zambia	72
Tunisia	108	Algeria	71
	6,719		3,437
	86.7%[b]		86.8%[b]

Notes:

a - Data based on country of last permanent residence.
b - As proportion of total immigration from Africa.

Source: Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, *Immigration Statistics*, for the selected years.

Traditionally Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia have been noted for encouraging their nationals to emigrate as a partial solution to their domestic unemployment problems. Egypt allows migration as a human right but tries to discourage the emigration of persons whose qualifications the country needs (Bouvier *et al* 1977, p.17). Increase of immigration from this part of Africa into Canada during 1955 and 1956 was due to the arrival of many British nationals from Egypt and between 1957 and 1965 because of the immigration of the Northern African Jews, especially from Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia. As stated above Northern African countries have reduced the numbers of emigrants to all destinations outside Africa and the Middle East.

Immigration from Eastern Africa to Canada has involved many countries, but most significant proportions have been from Tanzania, Kenya, Zambia, Uganda and Zimbabwe. Political developments in the region doubtlessly have been responsible for some of the increased flows. The expulsion of Ugandan Asians, wars in the Eritrean and Ogaden regions of Ethiopia, wars leading to the independence of Mozambique and Zimbabwe increased the flows of immigrants sharply in the respective countries. For example, immigrants increased sharply from Mozambique between 1975 and 1978 and from Zimbabwe from 1977 to 1979. Of the 69 immigrants who came to Canada in 1979 from Ethiopia 29 were refugees. Since 1973 Tanzania and Kenya have been the two major sources of immigrants from Eastern Africa. Most likely the annual flows still include many Eastern African Asians. The establishment of the Canadian immigration office in Nairobi in 1973 must have led to greater convenience in processing applications from this region.

The increase in immigration from Southern Africa to Canada may be looked at in two ways. Firstly, South Africa has always been a preferred source country of immigrants for Canada. Secondly, the tensions within South Africa itself and the war situation within its neighbouring states – Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and Zimbabwe – have prompted some people, both white and non-white, to immigrate to Canada. Immigration has undoubtedly been facilitated by the fact that an immigration office was established in Pretoria in 1977.

Immigration from Western Africa to Canada has mainly involved immigrants from Nigeria and Ghana. Immigration from these two countries increased in the first part of the immigration period and reached its peak around the mid-1970s.

Central African immigration to Canada has been dominated by Angola and Zaire. The timing of the peaks of immigration differs between the two countries. Immigration from Zaire was negligible until 1974 when it rose sharply. Part of this increase may be attributed to the liberation and civil wars in Angola and minor conflicts that have been experienced in Zaire. Immigration from Angola rose in 1975, at the time of independence, and has remained high since then.

Between 1964 and 1979 approximately 89,000 immigrants from Africa entered Canada. The regional shares of these immigrants were as follows: Eastern Africa (35,000), Northern Africa (27,000), Southern Africa (17,000), Western Africa (5,000) and Central Africa (4,000).

In order to evaluate the size of flows, migration rates (numbers of immigrants admitted per 100,000 inhabitants) were calculated for all countries of Africa and compared with the average rate for the continent (Figure 5.3). It appears that only Ethiopia, Ghana, Libya, Tunisia and Zimbabwe sent the expected number of immigrants to Canada. Ten other countries have sent more migrants than expected, including most of the countries listed in Table 5.2; and Swaziland which occupied the top position. Most African countries were underrepresented in migration flows.

C. Intended Destinations of African Immigrants

For the whole period the most favoured destination for immigrants from Africa has been Ontario. Other preferred destinations have been the Western provinces and Quebec. The Atlantic provinces have attracted very few immigrants from Africa. However, this situation changed over time, for example prior to 1970 Quebec was the favourite province of destination but later lost its position to Ontario (Table 5.3). As a French-speaking province Quebec has been able to attract immigrants from Francophone African countries. At one time Africa, and notably Northern Africa, was one of the largest source areas of Francophone immigrants for Quebec; now it has been replaced by Haiti (Lanphier 1979, pp.24-25). The dwindling proportion of immigrants from Africa entering Quebec seems to be due to the decline in immigrants from Northern Africa. Western provinces and the Territories have been attracting increasing proportions of

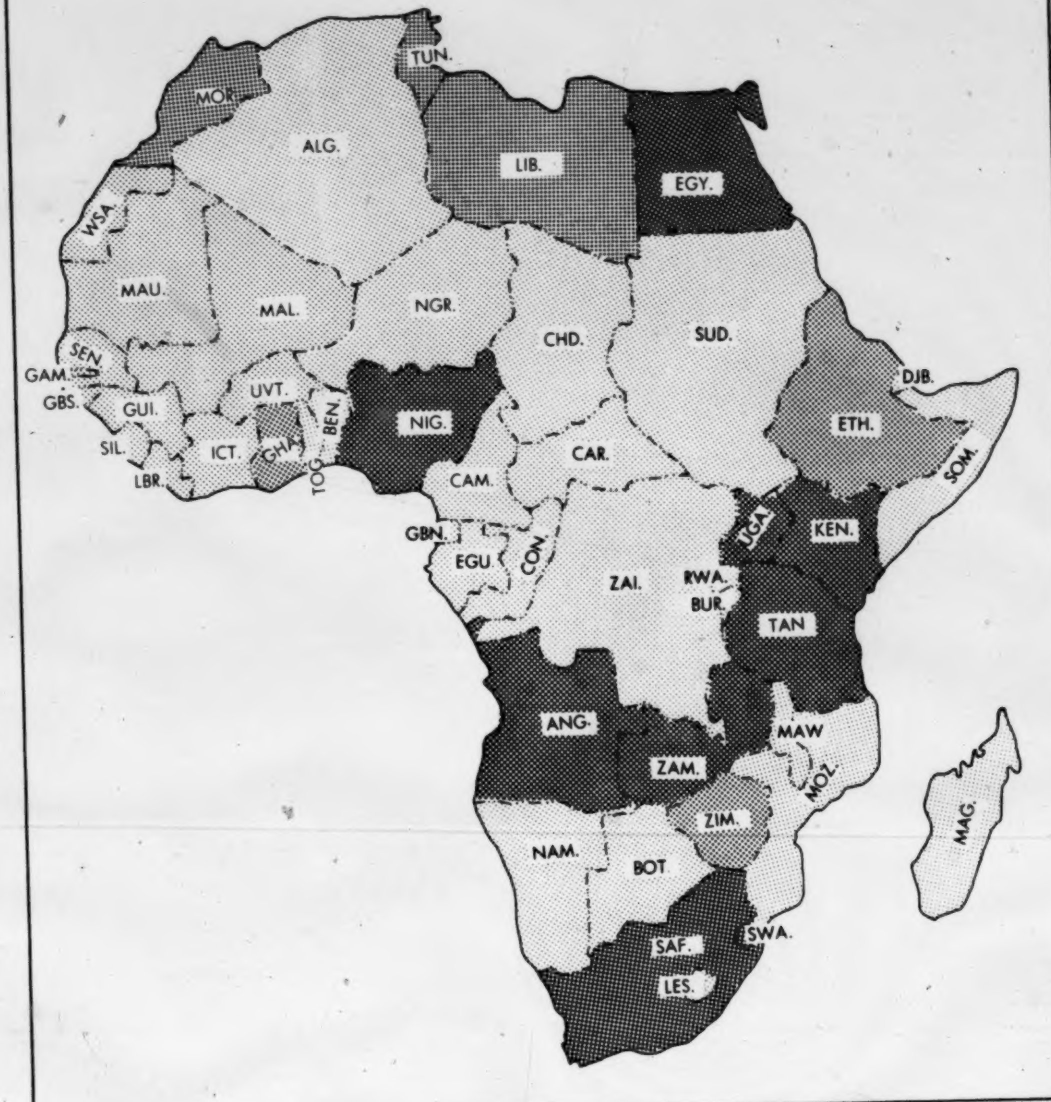

TUN.
MOR.
ALG.
LIB.
EGY.
WSA.
MAU.
MAL.
NGR.
CHD.
SUD.
SEN.
GAM.
GBS.
GUI.
UVT.
BEN.
NIG.
DJB.
ETH.
SIL.
ICT.
GHA.
TOG.
LBR.
CAM.
CAR.
SOM.
GBN.
EGU.
CON.
UGA.
KEN.
ZAI.
RWA.
BUR.
TAN
ANG.
MAW
ZAM.
MOZ.
MAG.
ZIM.
NAM.
BOT.
SWA.
SAF.
LES.

FIGURE 5.3 EMIGRATION FROM AFRICA TO CANADA, 1964-1979

Migration rates (per 100,000 population)
as compared to the average rate
for Africa (1.6)

░ <1 Below expected
▒ 1-2 Expected
▓ >2 Above expected

500 0 500 1000 miles
0 500 1000 1500 kilometres

Sources: Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, *Immigration Statistics*, 1964-1979.

Population Reference Bureau 1971, 1971 *World Population Data Sheet*.

TABLE 5.3 INTENDED DESTINATION OF IMMIGRANTS FROM AFRICA, 1962-1979 (Percentage).

YEAR	ATLANTIC PROVINCES	QUEBEC	ONTARIO	WESTERN PROVINCES, YUKON AND TERRITORIES	TOTAL
1962	2.3	63.7	24.7	9.8	100.0
1963	1.3	60.8	28.8	9.1	100.0
1964	1.4	61.9	26.3	10.4	100.0
1965	1.5	56.6	27.6	12.4	100.1
1966	2.1	47.8	37.2	12.9	100.0
1967	3.2	43.6	36.0	17.2	100.0
1968	1.6	53.7	31.5	13.2	100.0
1969	1.9	44.8	38.4	14.9	100.0
1970	3.8	31.9	47.7	16.7	100.1
1971	2.4	23.0	52.4	22.2	100.0
1972	3.1	15.4	42.2	39.3	100.0
1973	2.0	16.6	48.0	33.4	100.0
1974	1.1	20.5	50.8	27.6	100.0
1975	1.1	17.5	51.5	29.9	100.0
1976	1.0	21.1	48.9	29.0	100.0
1977	1.7	19.1	49.1	30.2	100.0
1978	1.4	20.2	49.3	29.2	100.1
1979	1.2	20.3	48.4	30.1	100.1

Source: Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, Immigration Statistics, 1962-1979.

immigrants.[3] Their share rose from 9.3 per cent in 1962 to 30.1 per cent in 1979, even reaching 39 per cent in 1972.

Figure 5.4 shows the intended destinations for Francophone and Anglophone immigrants from Africa to Canada for the 1973-1979 period. Not surprisingly most of the immigrants who came from Francophone countries intended to settle in Quebec (5,000 out of 7,000 immigrants). The rest virtually settled in Ontario (Figure 5.4a). Of the 44,000 immigrants from Anglophone Africa, 24,000 settled in Ontario, 5,000 in Quebec and the rest in the Western provinces and Territories (Figure 5.4b). This suggests that the role of language in the initial settlement stage was rather important. Other common cultural features and activities might also have been important.

On the average immigrants from Africa were better prepared for settlement in Canada in that only a few persons who immigrated knew neither English nor French. Even those who settled outside Quebec spoke French more often than all the immigrants (Table 5.4).

D. Educational and Occupational Qualifications

Immigrants from Africa who arrived between 1961 and 1971 had a slightly higher level of education than average immigrants, and this applies to both males and females (Table 5.5). However, African males were better educated than females, but the latter had respectable levels of schooling as shown by the high proportion with secondary education.

Immigration of the managerial, administrative and entrepreneurial personnel from Africa to Canada has been rising since 1962 (Figure 5.5). The share of this category increased from 2 to 6 per cent of total African immigration (Figure 5.5a) and from 5 to 12 per cent of those destined to the labour force (Figure 5.5b). The increases were sharp after 1971. As for professionals the increases were sharp in the 1960s followed by a slow decline after 1972 and a slight increase in the late 1970s. Taken together immigrants destined to the managerial, administrative, entrepreneurial and professional occupations represented about 40 per cent of the migrants destined to the labour force.

---

[3] However, the volume of immigrants destined to Yukon and Northwest Territories has been negligible.

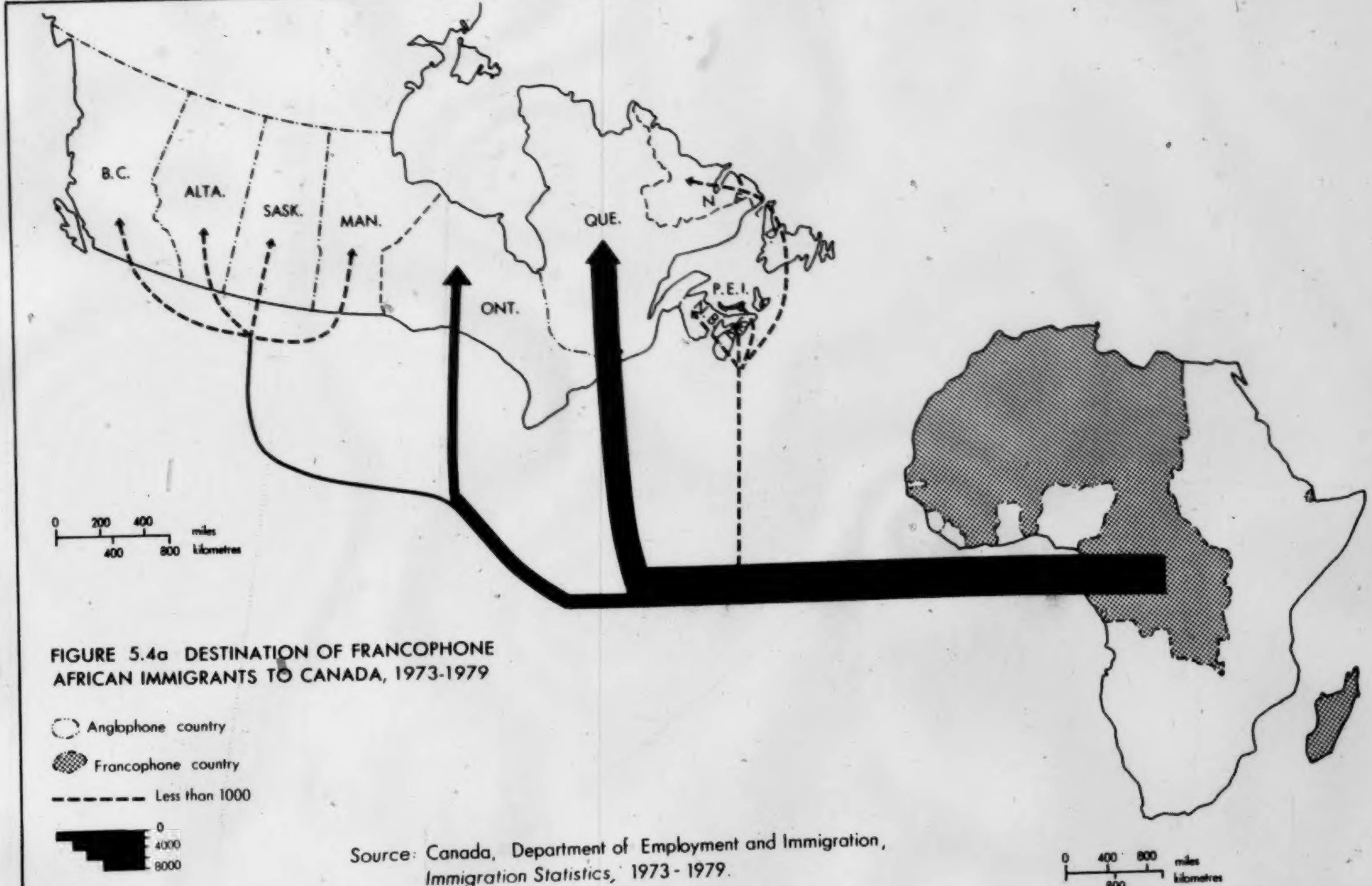

B.C.
ALTA.
SASK.
MAN.
ONT.
QUE.
N.
P.E.I.
N.B.
0 200 400 miles
400 800 kilometres
0 400 800 miles
800 kilometres
Anglophone country
Francophone country
Less than 1000
0
4000
8000

FIGURE 5.4a DESTINATION OF FRANCOPHONE AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA, 1973-1979

Source: Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, *Immigration Statistics*, 1973 - 1979.

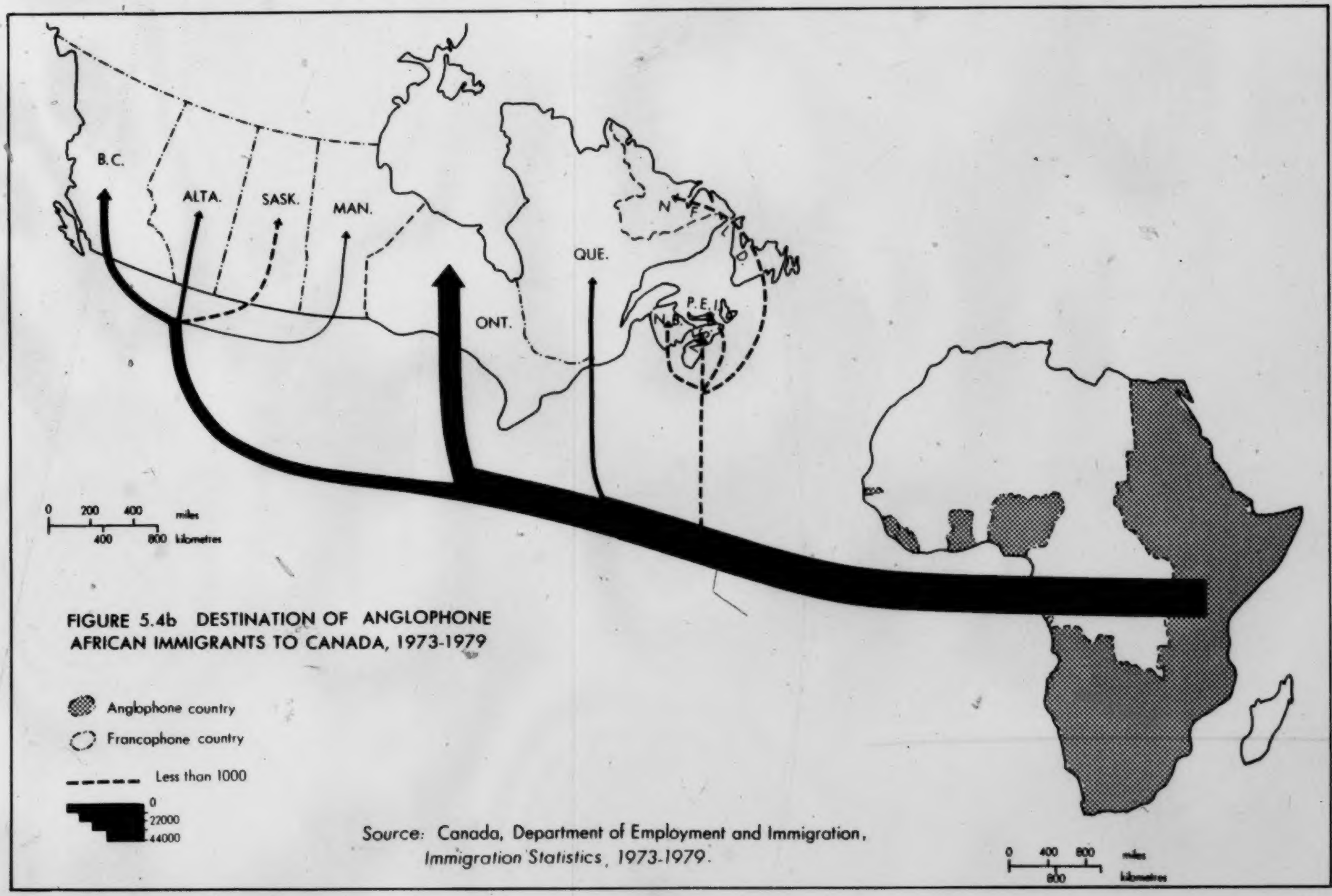

B.C.
ALTA.
SASK.
MAN.
ONT.
QUE.
N
F
P.E.I.
N.B.
0 200 400 miles
400 800 kilometres
Anglophone country
Francophone country
Less than 1000
0
22000
44000
0 400 800 miles
800 kilometres

FIGURE 5.4b DESTINATION OF ANGLOPHONE AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA, 1973-1979

Source: Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, *Immigration Statistics*, 1973-1979.

TABLE 5.4 OFFICIAL LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN CONVERSATION BY FOREIGN BORN IMMIGRANTS BY BIRTH PLACE IN QUEBEC, ONTARIO AND ELSEWHERE IN CANADA, 1971. (Percentage)

	QUEBEC		ONTARIO		ELSEWHERE	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
Neither language	8	1	8	2	4	1
English only	39	8	86	60	91	77
French only	18	28	*	3	*	2
Both languages	35	63	6	35	5	20

Notes:
* - Less than 1 per cent.
1 - All foreign born.
2 - African born.

Source: Lanphier 1979, Table 9.

TABLE 5.5 LEVEL OF SCHOOLING BY SEX OF AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS ARRIVING BETWEEN 1961 AND 1971.* (Percentages)

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	MALES		FEMALES	
	1	2	1	2
No schooling	7	2	8	6
Elementary	36	26	40	29
Secondary	37	36	39	48
University	20	36	13	17

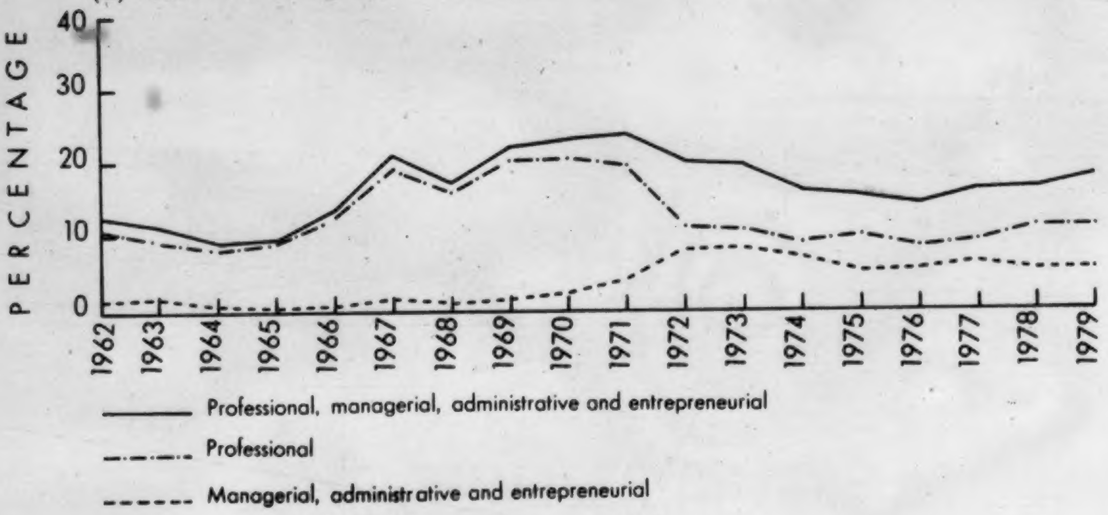
Notes:

* - Level of schooling refers to highest grade or year attended.
1 - All foreign born.
2 - African born.

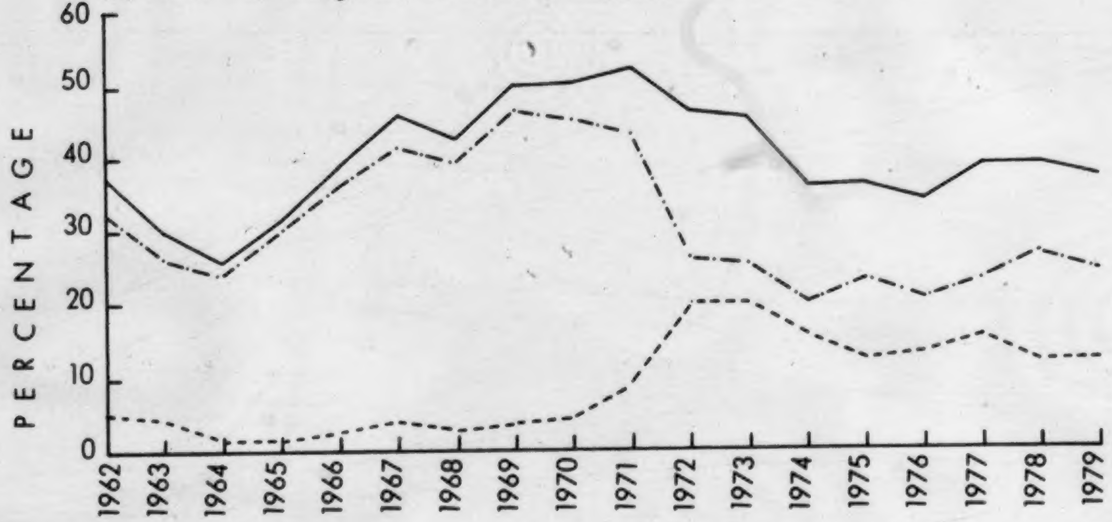
Source: Lanphier 1979, Table 8.

FIGURE 5.5 DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS DESTINED TO THE LABOUR FORCE FOR GIVEN OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS, 1962-1979

(a) 100% All immigrants from Africa



(b) 100% All immigrants from Africa destined to the labour force



Source: Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, *Immigration Statistics, 1962-1979.*

Most of these have been concentrated in the managerial, natural sciences, medicine and health and teaching occupations (Lanphier 1979, p.14; see Table 5.6 also).

The declining proportions of immigrants in skilled occupations in the 1970s can be explained by various factors. Firstly, the new Immigration Act of 1976 gives priority to the immigration of family members and assisted relatives rather than independent immigrants. Before 1976 independent immigrants from Africa were the largest single group but the situation changed thereafter (Table 5.7). For 1979 a larger number of the independent immigrants may be explained by the special provision which relaxed the rules and regulations in the admission of this category in order to reach the 1979 target of 100,000 immigrants. In addition, immigrants from developing countries have been geared towards mid-range occupations (Lanphier 1979). This does not necessarily mean that the immigrants were less educated or trained but rather that they have been accepting offers below their educational qualifications.

E. Age and Sex Distribution of Immigrants from Africa

About 28 per cent of the immigrants who entered Canada between 1962 and 1979 could be classified as dependants -- those under 15 years and 65 years of age and over (Table 5.8). This means that African immigrants have been heavily concentrated in the economically productive age groups, more so than other immigrants (Lanphier 1979, p.5). Children in African immigration have consistently accounted for about a quarter of the annual flows; and were equally divided between males and females except for the 1962-1966 period.

There was male predominance in the immigration flows from Africa, The differences have been narrowing. The male immigrants' proportion fell from 58.3 to 50.6 per cent while that for the female immigrants rose from 41.7 to 49.4 per cent in overall African immigration.

The bulk of the immigrants fell in the age group 15-64 years of age but particularly between 15 and 34 years (Table 5.9). The proportion of immigrants aged between 20 and 29 years rose from 19.6 per cent in 1962 to 34.1 per cent in 1971 but subsequently declined to 26.6 per cent in 1979.

TABLE 5.6 INTENDED PROFESSIONAL OCCUPATIONS OF IMMIGRANTS FROM AFRICA TO CANADA, 1973-1979*.

YEAR	ENTREPRENEURS	MANAGERIAL, ADMINISTRATIVE	SCIENCES, ENGINEERING, MATH.	SOCIAL SERVICES AND RELATED	TEACHING	MEDICINE AND HEALTH	TOTAL
1973	456	277	448	59	164	215	1,619
1974	401	361	536	51	132	186	1,667
1975	278	268	678	47	95	157	1,523
1976	220	217	382	47	74	129	1,071
1977	135	291	311	41	89	119	986
1978	51	180	255	33	60	102	681
1979	20	207	268	26	45	90	656
TOTAL	1,561	1,801	2,878	306	659	998	8,203

Note:
* - Before 1973 there are no comparable statistics.

Source: Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, *Immigration Statistics, 1973-1979.*

TABLE 5.7 IMMIGRATION FROM AFRICA BY CLASS AND BY YEAR OF ARRIVAL, 1972-1979.

CLASS[1]	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Sponsored	672	1,442	1,482	1,786	1,770
Nominated	895	1,585	3,473	3,329	3,256
Independent	6,741	5,280	5,495	4,752	2,726

	1977	1978	1979	TOTAL
Sponsored	1,698	1,196	226	10,272
Nominated	2,337	1,454	320	16,649
Independent	2,337	1,150	125	28,606
Family class		219	1,350	1,569
Refugee class		23	81	104
Designated class		0	12	12
Assisted Relatives		33	294	327
Independent		186	1,550	1,736

1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
8,308	8,307	10,450	9,867	7,752	6,372	4,261	3,958

TOTAL 59,275

Note:

1 - Two categories of classification according to the 1952 and 1976 Immigration Acts have been used. From 1972 to 1977 categories of classes used are those for the 1952 Immigration Act. For 1978 and 1979 both Acts have been used.

__Source:__ Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, Special Tabulation.

TABLE 5.8 ANNUAL AVERAGE AFRICAN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA BY SEX GROUPS AND BY MAJOR PERIODS OF IMMIGRATION, 1962-1979.

	0-14		15-64		65+		TOTAL	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
1962-1966								
Males	395	14.5	1,149	42.3	39	1.5	1,583	58.3
Females	285	10.5	807	29.7	40	1.5	1,132	41.7
Subtotal	680	25.1	1,956	72.0	79	2.9	2,715	100.0
1967-1975								
Males	805	13.0	2,384	38.5	71	1.2	3,261	52.7
Females	748	12.4	2,087	33.7	76	1.2	2,933	47.3
Subtotal	1,553	25.4	4,471	72.2	147	2.4	6,194	100.0
1976-1979								
Males	734	13.2	1,997	35.7	97	1.7	3,017	50.6
Females	708	12.7	1,959	35.1	92	1.6	2,758	49.4
Subtotal	1,442	25.8	3,956	70.8	189	3.4	5,775	100.0
1962-1979								
Males	640	13.3	1,852	38.4	64	1.3	2,687	53.0
Females	589	12.2	1,613	33.4	66	1.4	2,268	47.0
Subtotal	1,229	25.5	3,465	71.8	130	2.7	4,955	100.0

Notes:
1 - Annual average immigration.
2 - Percentage of total African immigration.

Source: Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, Immigration Statistics, 1962-1979.

TABLE 5.9 IMMIGRANTS FROM AFRICA AGED 15-34 AND 20-29 YEARS, 1962-1979.*

YEAR	15-34 AGE GROUP	20-29 AGE GROUP
1962	38.7	19.6
1963	42.3	23.0
1964	45.0	26.1
1965	45.1	26.6
1966	45.7	27.8
1967	44.6	28.2
1968	43.3	25.8
1969	48.3	30.2
1970	51.0	31.9
1971	49.2	34.1
1972	49.6	30.3
1973	49.5	29.7
1974	48.8	29.8
1975	41.2	24.9
1976	44.6	25.2
1977	45.2	26.4
1978	47.2	27.7
1979	46.2	26.6

Note:
* - Percentage of total African immigration.

Source: Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, *Immigration Statistics, 1962-1979*.

F. Summary

This chapter has reviewed the trends and patterns of African immigration to Canada since the Second World War based on the data from official statistics of the Department of Employment and Immigration, using the country of last permanent residence criterion. It has been noted that about 106,000 immigrants entered Canada between 1946 and 1979. Before 1962 the movement of immigrants from Africa was insignificant mainly involving Northern African countries and South Africa. Later migration fields expanded considerably. The flows of these immigrants from Africa have consisted of highly educated and trained persons who nave been conversant in either English, French or both. Immigrants have been mainly young adults in their most economically and demographically productive years. African immigration has been dominated by immigrants from a few countries, but the main source areas shifted from Northern, mainly French-speaking, Africa to Eastern and Southern, English-speaking, Africa. This latter pattern changed the favourite destination of Quebec of the early postwar period to Ontario and Western Canada.

VI. MIGRATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF AFRICANS IN EDMONTON

Immediately I found myself out of my own country, I didn't care whether I was two hundred miles away as I was in Zambia or two thousand miles as I have been in Canada.

Edmonton Respondent Summer 1981
Interview with the Author

A. Introduction

As mentioned above additional information was obtained from indepth interviews conducted in Edmonton in the Summers of 1980 and 1981. The results reported here are mainly based on thirteen interviews. More than thirteen immigrants were identified but only these respondents permitted their views to be incorporated in the analysis. Five immigrants refused to talk to the author while others were unwilling to give full information required.

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the determinants of African immigration to Canada, *viz-a-viz,* decision to migrate and decision to choose destination; problems after settlement, actual integration into the Canadian society and future.migratory plans of the respondents. Wherever possible, findings of other researchers have been included.

B. Characteristics of the Respondents

There were five black, three white, three Asian and two Arabic respondents. All of them were male, all but two were married, and all (except five) applied for admission to Canada from outside their countries of birth. The respondents were born in Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda and Zimbabwe. At the time of the interviews most respondents were highly skilled: two had high school diplomas or certificates (one had still to complete his high school), three had Bachelors' degrees, three had Masters' degrees and one a Doctorate in engineering, one was a D.D.S. and one had a diploma in marketing. Most respondents held different jobs than prior to emigration, but mainly in their chosen fields (Table 6.1). When they immigrated to Canada most respondents were very young: four in their twenties, four in their early thirties, two in the late thirties and only one was into his sixtieth birthday. Most married respondents brought their families when they immigrated.

C. Reasons for Immigrating

The following factors and combinations of these have been the major contributions to immigration from Africa to Canada.

Education and training are necessary components of personal and societal development. As has been stated, the coming of independence for some African countries and the struggle for independence for others, prompted many nationals to go abroad for study in preparation for the takeover of the affairs in their countries. Because of a general lack of local training facilities in African countries the only way to develop specialists has been to send them abroad for study. After completing their studies, some of the students do not return but stay on in the host countries (stay-ons). Others go back but return later. Though the following situation does not apply to Canada only it is pertinent to point out that:

> "There are several categories of students who go abroad permanently. Some complete their course of study and return home only to find that unsatisfactory conditions and perhaps their own inability to make the necessary adjustments impel them to re-migrate. Others prolong their studies in order to avoid returning home. Yet another category includes career diplomats whose children often become completely divorced from the customs, dialects and so on of their country" (UN 1971, p.115).

All the four "stay-ons" in Edmonton interviews had initially come to Canada to study. Two returned to their home countries after completing their respective programmes. However, one was out of the country for ten years and after return discovered that he could not adjust to the life he found and chose to come back to Canada. The other returned to his country and was given a well paid job but decided to come back abroad because he was frustrated in his job. He had only a minor role to play in decision-making processes despite his high position. The rest of the "stay-ons" simply decided to remain in Canada after their study programmes.

TABLE 6.1 OCCUPATIONS OR SCHOOLS OF RESPONDENTS.

RESPONDENT	JOB BEFORE IMMIGRATING	JOB AT TIME OF INTERVIEW
1	Businessman	Businessman
2	Construction project engineer	Construction estimator
3	High school student	Part-time graduate student
4	Airline marketing officer	Businessman
5	High school student	College student
6	High school student	Mining processor
7	Training manager	Shop assistant
8	Administrative officer	Engineering consultant
9	University lecturer	College lecturer
10	University student	University student (just completed study)
11	High school student	High school student
12	Dentist	Dentist
13	Accountant	Financial comptroller

The likelihood of return to an African country diminishes when a student comes abroad on a private, non-government funding. In an earlier study of immigrants from Cameroon (mainly to France) it was found that students who had government scholarships had an overall rate of return of 80 per cent. The rate of return for government-sponsored medical students was only 40 per cent but of those who were privately sponsored none returned. The rate of return for privately sponsored technicians was 50 per cent (UN 1971, p.115). In the Edmonton interviews three respondents were financed privately for their studies.

Education may also contribute to immigration in other respects. Too many people could be educated in a particular field for local demand. People may also be educated in unsuitable subjects or in wrong proportions to meet local demand, or in systems which make them fit better to requirements of developed economies than of their own countries (Grubel and Scott 1977; Johnson 1968). Portes (1976) has stated that sometimes up-to-date books, theories and equipment lead to situations where, upon graduation, a student finds that he cannot practise at home because of limited facilities and chances. For African countries there is no point in believing that this critical stage has been reached. However, as early as 1970 it was suggested that this situation was developing in humanities and social science fields in some African countries, particularly Nigeria (Harbison 1970). One respondent in Edmonton, an engineer, indicated that as a mining processor he could not find a job in Ghana, so he had to remain in Canada when he completed his studies. He was readily employed.

Encouraging education with little or no communication with students abroad usually results in their permanent migration to the host countries. In this case students who are abroad do not know what is happening at home and hence what jobs are open to them. On the other hand, some students are well informed about economic prospects in their home countries which, to some, do not look bright, hence they opt for staying abroad. The latter reason was a critical consideration for the "stay-ons" in the Edmonton interviews.

Two interviewees stayed in Canada because they married citizens of Canada. Given the choice between returning to Africa and staying in Canada, the couples decided for the latter alternative. One respondent decided to immigrate to Canada because of the change of government while abroad.

Clear cases where immigrants from Africa entered Canada for political reasons have been pointed out in the previous chapter. Half of the respondents indicated that they were forced to leave their countries or not to return because either they were expelled, or were faced with war situation or there was a change of government while abroad (Table 6.2).

Most respondents, particularly the "stay-ons", stated that they wanted to gain some work experience before returning to Africa. They felt that the experience they were getting was worthwhile and would be useful to the African situation should they ever decide to return.

Most respondents were attracted by the economic opportunities in Canada about which they were informed by relatives and friends. It is surprising though, that no respondent was admitted during the boom period of the 1960s. On the other hand it was only the "stay-ons" who were around in the late 1960s and all of them decided to stay in Canada. These were the respondents for whom wage differentials between what they could get in Africa and Canada were important considerations for immigrating to the latter. Moreover, the "stay-ons" were assured of employment by Canadian employers.

The negative changes in the economic and employment conditions in some African countries have led many of their nationals to emigrate. The "stay-ons" reported that when they first left their home countries to study in Canada they had the intention to go back. At the time of their departure conditions were good, but by the end of their study programme the situation at home changed for the worse. However, it is very likely that it was their perceptions about Africa which changed. They therefore decided to work in Canada for some time until conditions improved at home.

A few respondents stated that education for their children was one important consideration among the reasons they immigrated to Canada. This was especially true for the Asians who felt that their children would not have as good a chance in their national economy as they themselves had. "Africanization" programmes initiated in most African countries since independence made them feel discriminated against. However, all respondents with pre-school and school-going children stated that the educational system in Canada was not only good but had many advantages over that of African

TABLE 6.2 REASONS FOR IMMIGRATING AND CHOOSING DESTINATION

IMMIGRANT AND YEAR OF IMMIGRANTION	IMMIGRATING WITH FAMILY?	REASONS FOR LEAVING HOME COUNTRY	REASONS FOR CHOOSING CANADA	REASONS FOR CHOOSING EDMONTON
1. 1973	- wife + 3 children (nominated)	- political expellee(refugee)	- Canada offered asylum	- presence of relatives
2. 1980	- wife (independent)	- political war situation - economic - indigenization of jobs at former residence - experience	- working with CIDA personnel in country of former residence	- job opportunities in Alberta
3. 1973	- alone - sponsored fiancee later (independent)	- originally to study (privately sponsored) - overstay in Canada (7 years) - could not adjust at home	- Canadian immigration policy - economic opportunities - familiar environment - Guelph	- job offer in Edmonton
4. 1974	- wife + 2 children (nominated)	- economic-indigenization of jobs at origin - education for children	- previous visit - presence of relatives - Vancouver	- job offer in Edmonton - economic opportunities
5. 1974	- has been sponsored son - moving to where parents went	- has been part of parents' migratory train	- parents admitted to Canada as immigrants - Calgary	- education - attends the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology
6. 1973	- alone - sponsored fiancee and brother (independent)	- originally to study (privately sponsored) - deteriorating economic conditions at origin	- employment opportunities - immigration policy - familiar environment - Winnipeg	- job offer in Edmonton

... (Cont.)

Table 6.2 (Cont.)

7. 1978	- wife (family class)	- pressurized by son and daughter to join them - to be near relatives	- presence of relatives	- presence of relatives - job offer
8. 1977	- Wife and child (refugee)	- originally to study (government scholarship) - political - change of government while abroad - could not be admitted in the United Kingdom	- familiar environment - Edmonton - prensence of friends	- familiar environment (ex- University of Alberta student) - presence of friends - job offer
9. 1973	- alone - sponsored wife (independent)	- originally to study - uncertain economic conditions at origin	- economic conditions in Canada - immigration policy - familiar environment - Winnipeg	- transfer to Edmonton
10. and 11. 1980	- came together	- be near parents	- presence of parents	- presence of parents
12. 1979	- wife & daughter (independent)	- economic - political uncertainty of the future in country of origin	- economic opportunities	- familiar environment (had scouted for possible settlement) - job offer
13. 1972	- alone - sponsored wife and 2 children (independent)	- political-independence war at origin - frustration at work	- stability in Canada	- transfer to Edmonton

countries. Respondents stated that there are many educational facilities in Canada, and a student entering Grade One has a reasonable chance of completing his university education.

The role of the Canadian immigration policy in determining African immigration to Canada cannot be over-emphasized. Chapters II and III have sufficiently dealt with this factor. To a large extent most respondents who entered Canada between 1967 and 1973 were encouraged to apply for admission because of the liberal policy that existed at that time. The "stay-ons" indicated that they were aware of the policy. The rest were admitted mainly because of the objective selection criteria adopted since 1967.

The above are some of the major reasons that prompted immigrants to come to Canada. As can be seen immigrants did not come because of one or two reasons but because of a combination of them and other factors. Watanabe (1969) has put the factors which encourage immigration into two groups – motivational and permissive aspects. Motivational ones are those which operate mainly in the area of origin and tend to induce emigration from a region. Permissive aspects operate mainly in the area of destination and encourage immigration. Both types of factors played a role in the migrational experience of Edmonton respondents.

D. Choice of Destination in Canada

Respondents asked why they chose Canada over other possible destinations and why they ended up in Edmonton said that they had some prior knowledge about Canada. During their primary, secondary and college or university educational careers they had learned about the Canadian environment and people and about other developed countries. Some of the respondents were attracted to Canada because of their studies. Half of the respondents had relatives and/or friends who had immigrated earlier to Canada either to study or stay.

Some students who came to Canada were on scholarships. One respondent had a choice between Canada and Eastern Europe. He decided on Canada because he "disliked socialism." Another had a choice between Canada and the United Kingdom. He chose the former as he wanted to be far away from the latter – his country still being under British colonial rule. Two privately sponsored students were offered places in universities of Canada, United Kingdom and United States. They chose Canadian universities because of the presumed non-racialist policies . However, in the case of one respondent who had applied to universities in several countries the acceptance letter from the Canadian university arrived first. Commenting on his move he stated that, "By the time other offers from the United States arrived I had already decided to come to Canada. Probably if I had gone to the United States, I would have stayed there as a resident."

For the respondents who had been in Canada previously it was their first choice because of its being a familiar environment. Respondents actually first returned to the centres they studied or visited – two to Winnipeg, one to Guelph, one to Montreal and two to Edmonton. These respondents came to Edmonton because they were either transferred or had job offers here.

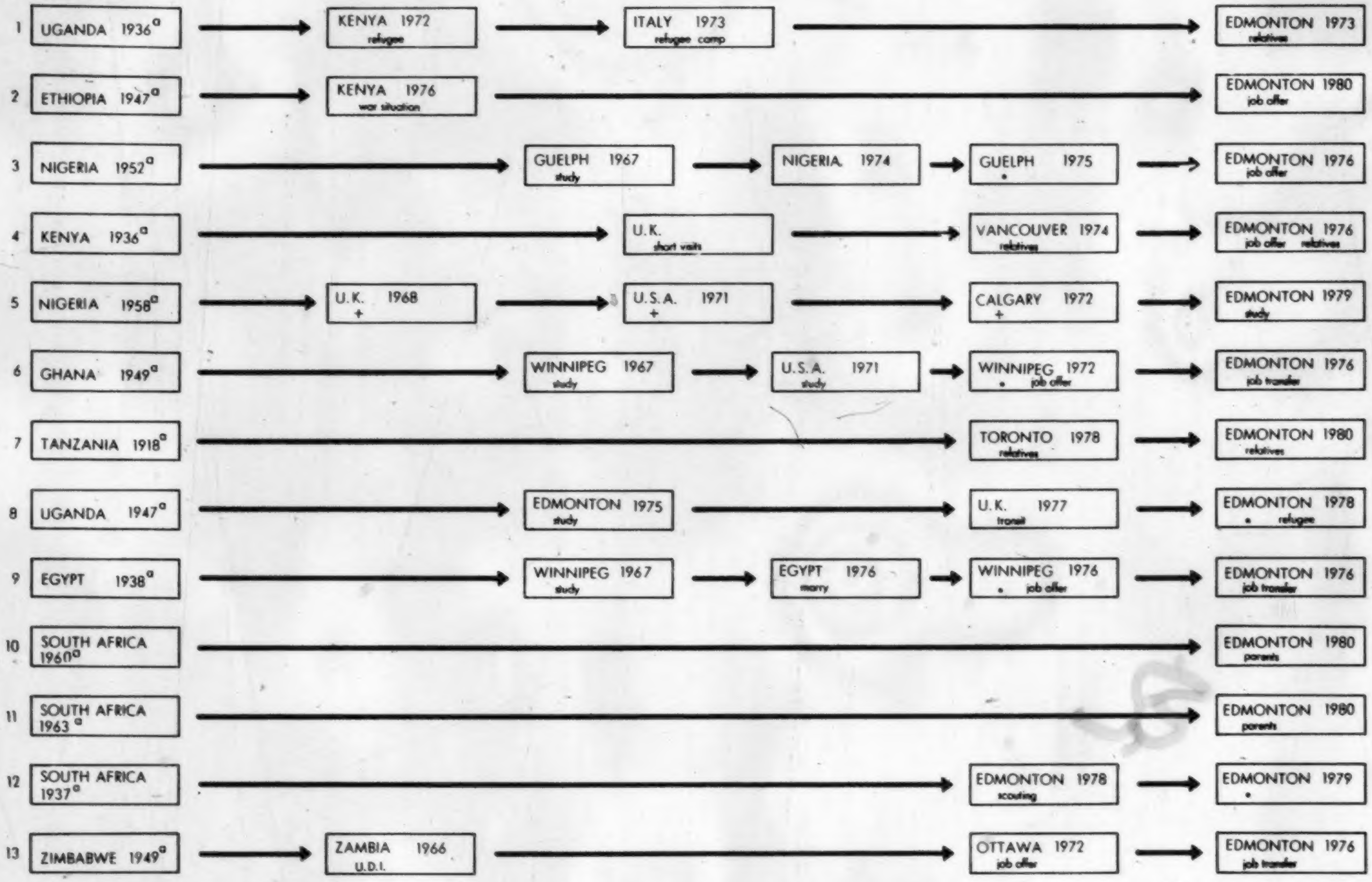
The rest of the respondents moved to Edmonton because of relatives or friends who were living nearby. These came (without having specific job offers) to Edmonton mainly for family reasons although they expected to find jobs. The majority moved to Edmonton because of relatives or friends living nearby. They also judged that job opportunities in Alberta were more likely to be available than elsewhere. Respondents' migratory paths are shown in Figure 6.1. It is interesting to note that those who came as students did not stay in other countries as did the rest of the immigrants. On the average, the latter had longer stays in Canada than those who went elsewhere.

Most respondents had resided in a foreign country, including Canada, before deciding to immigrate to Canada.

E. Problems After Immigrating?

As most respondents had pre-migratory information about Canada and since some of them had had relatives and/or friends already in Canada they encountered few problems in settling down. Moreover, most of them got the jobs they wanted soon after arriving. Some respondents had problems in being understood because their English seemed unintelligible to Canadians. All respondents reported that initially they felt isolated and yearned for relatives and friends back in Africa. In fact this was the major complaint

FIGURE 6.1 MIGRATORY PATHS OF RESPONDENTS


1
UGANDA 1936[a]
KENYA 1972
refugee
ITALY 1973
refugee camp
EDMONTON 1973
relatives
2
ETHIOPIA 1947[a]
KENYA 1976
war situation
EDMONTON 1980
job offer
3
NIGERIA 1952[a]
GUELPH 1967
study
NIGERIA 1974
GUELPH 1975
•
EDMONTON 1976
job offer
4
KENYA 1936[a]
U.K.
short visits
VANCOUVER 1974
relatives
EDMONTON 1976
job offer relatives
5
NIGERIA 1958[a]
U.K. 1968
+
U.S.A. 1971
+
CALGARY 1972
+
EDMONTON 1979
study
6
GHANA 1949[a]
WINNIPEG 1967
study
U.S.A. 1971
study
WINNIPEG 1972
• job offer
EDMONTON 1976
job transfer
7
TANZANIA 1918[a]
TORONTO 1978
relatives
EDMONTON 1980
relatives
8
UGANDA 1947[a]
EDMONTON 1975
study
U.K. 1977
transit
EDMONTON 1978
• refugee
9
EGYPT 1938[a]
WINNIPEG 1967
study
EGYPT 1976
marry
WINNIPEG 1976
• job offer
EDMONTON 1976
job transfer
10
SOUTH AFRICA 1960[a]
EDMONTON 1980
parents
11
SOUTH AFRICA 1963[a]
EDMONTON 1980
parents
12
SOUTH AFRICA 1937[a]
EDMONTON 1978
scouting
EDMONTON 1979
•
13
ZIMBABWE 1949[a]
ZAMBIA 1966
U.D.I.
OTTAWA 1972
job offer
EDMONTON 1976
job transfer

[a] -Year of birth and other dates are for the moves for the stated reason(s).

• -Familiar environment

+ -accompanying parents

U.D.I. means unilateral declaration of independence respondents had even at the time of the interviews.

F. Social Networks and Integration into Canadian Society

Some respondents have maintained contact with their relatives and/or friends back in Africa by letters and by occasional visits to Africa. Some even sent airline tickets so that relatives could visit them here. Others wrote only occasionally. There were others who did not write at all because there was nobody to write to or because they were not free to do so. This was the plight of the Ugandan Asians, and respondents from Ethiopia, South Africa (blacks) and Zimbabwe. The situation had changed for the latter since independence in April 1980.

Respondents belonged to different religious groups, and all except three belonged to their respective professional organizations. For most professional respondents this was to be expected. Surprisingly, only a few respondents knew about the existence of the African Association of Alberta (AAA) in Edmonton. These happened to be either in contact with African students or had at one time taken a course at the University of Alberta. Very few knew other immigrants from Africa within Alberta although they knew some in other provinces. A possible explanation for this ignorance of the whereabouts of others may be due, in part, to the dispersed nature of the respondents' residences, and to their varied occupations. In addition there are no organized cultural activities that immigrants from Africa seem to participate in with the exception of the Ismailis. During the interviews it became apparent that some of the respondents are unwilling to mix with other immigrants from Africa. This is very likely due to the fact that although they came from the same continent their cultural background was quite different.

Except for three respondents who rented apartments and two who stayed with their parents all other respondents own or are in the process of owning their own homes (houses). Two of the three apartment dwellers hoped to have their own houses one day. The only problem envisaged was that mortgage rates were now too high; but all felt that owning a house was a good investment.

All respondents had their expectations fulfilled and were very satisfied with the decision taken to immigrate. Some, as well as their spouses, have expanded their education and skills. Respondents were particularly happy that there were so many employment opportunities in Canada. Those who had worked when in Africa expressed satisfaction with the jobs at the origin, especially with the fact that they had held responsible positions and had many acquaintances there. They were happy in Canada, however, particularly because of the experience and the increased monetary advantages. Moreover, facilities and amenities are readily available without inconveniences. Respondents also expressed joy at the peace and stability they desired and found in Canada.

G. Future Migratory Plans

Immigrants were asked if they contemplated leaving Edmonton within the next eighteen months or eventually. All respondents but one had no such plans in the near future. They saw Alberta as a developing province and wanted to stay here. Since Edmonton was not growing as fast as Calgary they preferred to stay in Edmonton.

As to their long-term migratory plans respondents felt that prosperity would not continue indefinitely in Alberta. Should they decide to move eventually, it would probably be to Africa, but not necessarily to their home countries. Some hoped for some temporary contractual work there before coming back to Canada. Others perceived the use of their Canadian experience in another receiving country, most likely the United States, before their return to Canada or Africa. Those who owned businesses thought they would continue expanding competitively.

For those without any definite migratory plans there was the security of staying in Canada with the regret of missing their relatives, friends and acquaintances at home. They would go back home however if they could be assured that the socioeconomic and political situation in Africa would stabilize and remain so. Such respondents had come to Canada either because of political problems at home, or because their children were at school here. When asked if they would go back since President Milton Obote was now in power and was inviting them to go back, the Ugandan refugees were adamant. Their answers ranged from, "We left at gunpoint nine years ago and there's no way we'd go back," "We don't trust them. Obote is in power now but any soldier in the army could topple him," to "We are settled in Canada and I'm a citizen now and I intend to stay here" (*Edmonton Journal* March 19, 1981).

H. Summary

Respondents have enjoyed personal stability and peace of mind since coming to Canada. Consequently, all of them have been satisfied with their decisions. The socioeconomic and political considerations in both Africa and Canada have been important factors in the decisions to migrate. The Canadian immigration policy has been an important factor too.

The present study verifies findings of previous researches on migration differentials. Immigrants from Africa have been young adults, highly trained falling mainly in natural sciences, technical and medical and health occupations. Respondents with pre-school or school-going children appear to be, for definite future migratory plans, more immobile than their counterparts.

Immigrants from Africa obtain pre-migratory information about alternative receiving countries. Canada is chosen mainly because of its good standing in international and national affairs. For some immigrants, the presence of relatives and friends in a given area of Canada has been the major determining factor in the decision to choose destination in Canada. Others go to places they know well. Job transfers and new job offers in different places ensure continued mobility while in Canada.

It is interesting , though unexpected, to note that all the respondents were citizens of African countries, and that five of the thirteen respondents were black. Although most respondents intend to return to Africa after working for some time in Canada, indications are that some of them have "lost the first love" they had for Africa. Other things being equal, respondents would go to Africa only to visit or work *in another African country* on contractual work before returning to Canada. Others would rather go to *another receiving country* before returning to Africa or Canada. This indicates that there is a greater probability of them staying permanently in Canada than moving.

VII. CONSEQUENCES OF AFRICAN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA

A nation without a well trained cadre has no promising future and so is a nation that is dependent on outside expertise to run its wheels of industry.

Sunday Times of Zambia
Let's Fight Brain Drain
September 13, 1981

A. Introduction

White and Woods (1980) have stated that:

> "Any migration event may be considered as having effects in five specific contexts. Firstly, there is the effect on the migrant in changing his way of life, his knowledge and experience of other places and his attitudes and beliefs. Secondly, there is the effect on the community that the migrant leaves, and thirdly, the effect on the community that the migrant goes to. Fourthly, the migration event produces a spatial pattern – a flow from origin to destination – which can be regarded as the effect of migration on the intervening space through which migration occurs. Fifthly, migration takes place within a given structural context and can affect the structure in various ways which may, in certain cases, lead to the perpetuation of migration as a structure itself" (p.43).

The aim of this chapter is to analyze the impact of African immigration to Canada following the conceptual framework suggested by these two geographers. It is based on information obtained from various sources including the interviews conducted in Edmonton. Although the group interviewed was very small the answers can be taken as indicative of implications which might be extended to other immigrants from Africa to Canada.

B. Effects on the Immigrant

As stated in the last chapter immigrants from Africa have enjoyed increased earnings, have been satisfied with their moves and personal expectations and have enjoyed amenities that they did not have before. Facilities that have been available have been enjoyed by the engineers, medical doctors, other scientists and businessmen.

Some authors suggest that coloured or black immigrants in Canada, the United Kingdom and United States feel that they are discriminated against in obtaining employment, housing, services, etc. (Glaser 1978; McClain 1979; Richmond 1976).

Respondents maintained that although they knew that discrimination existed in Canada they did not notice any incidents where they themselves felt being discriminated against. The skin colour which makes them distinctly visible did not bother them. There are two apparent reasons. Firstly, these persons have got skills and the training employers need and they may just be a few in their particular occupations or communities. In this case, other people do not feel they are threatened by so few immigrants. Secondly, due to their education and training these few immigrants are able to cope with tendencies that would probably be labelled discriminatory by the average immigrant. It is plausible that if respondents with few years in school or no professional jobs had been interviewed the answers would have been different.

The major problem that respondents have faced so far has been homesickness, loneliness and absence from their home countries in Africa. It is surprising then that such feelings do not induce them to think seriously of returning to Africa. Their moves seem to be permanent. Unlike what is believed about immigrants from Africa, *viz*: that they have a tendency to go back to their home countries, the results of the interviews show that such return is most unlikely. In fact the experience they receive in countries such as Canada tends to make them even better settled here than in Africa.

C. Effects on the Origin

The data for an accurate analysis of the effects of African immigration to Canada are absent. However, the selectivity process of immigration has ensured that only persons of certain ages, occupations, education, etc., have been migrating. Immigration leads to the loss of these attributes to Africa.

It may be argued that immigration to Canada has led to relief in African countries which have been experiencing pressures due to their high population growth, high and rising unemployment and pressures on limited resources because African immigration has mainly involved people in their most fertile ages. That is, immigration has acted as a safety valve to these pressures. But since immigration from Africa to Canada is very small it has no significant impact in suppressing fertility in Africa. In fact those who have immigrated tend to have smaller family sizes than those found in Africa. Borrie (1966, p.139) has stated that in spite of inadequate data to permit calculating precise effects of emigration on fertility, emigration has limited effect on growth rates because movements have not only been small in relation to the total populations of sending and receiving countries, but also because emigrants have come from countries with high growth rates.

With regard to unemployment, most of the immigrants from Africa who have come to Canada (with the exception of children) have been previously employed or were likely to be employed because of their education and/or training. The respondents provided confirmation of this assumption. In terms of the developmental process, the emigration of professionals and other workers has reduced significantly the chances of sustained growth in Africa. Transitional societies such as the African ones require considerable numbers of highly trained people as well as those in mid-range occupations. Unemployment to such workers in Africa is non-existent. Therefore, their emigration to Canada acts as a means of postponing the necessary economic and demographic changes.

Emigration usually results in losses for the country of departure. Some of the losses are direct - such as the costs of maintenance incurred for emigrants during their unproductive ages and while they were undergoing their training. In addition, countries with progressive taxation systems (as most African countries have) lose indirect costs from the foregone incomes. According to Watanabe (1969):

> "The loss to the home country may be greater than the cost of an emigrant's education, for the present value of his expected direct and indirect contribution to the national income in the future may exceed the cost of his education" (p.410).

In developing countries generally, there are large numbers of persons per physician or other categories of highly skilled manpower. The outflow of trained persons in those fields has perpetuated the dependence of developing countries on developed countries. Table 7.1 indicates that in terms of medical personnel the situation is critical in most of the African countries. For instance, whereas an average Canadian physician sees only 560 persons some African physicians have to cope with as many as 73,000 persons. Some of these practitioners are non-nationals and some of them are not trained to the required standards. It is therefore, imperative to consider that any African physicians emigrating to Canada leave gaps in the medical and health sector in Africa. Although most African countries are poorly served, some of these have significant

TABLE 7.1 NUMBER OF PHYSICIANS AND MEDICAL DENSITY IN AFRICA AND CANADA, AROUND 1977.

COUNTRY	YEAR	NUMER OF PHYSICIANS	POPULATION PER. PHYSICIAN	MEDICAL DENSITY[a]
Algeria	1977	3,203	5,592	1.79
Angola	1973	383	15,175	0.66
Benin	1977	120	27,383	0.37
Botswana	1975	72	9,583	1.04
Burundi	1974	81	45,432	0.22
Cameroon	1977	477	13,983	0.72
Central African Rep.	1977	106	28,302	0.35
Chad	1977	100G	41,970	0.24G
Congo	1976	190G	7,316	1.37G
Djibouti	1977	64	1,734	5.77
Egypt	1977	35,489R	1,092	9.16R
Equatorial Guinea	1975	5	62,000	0.16
Ethiopia	1977	396	73,043	0.14
Gabon	1977	207	2,580	3.88
Gambia	1976	41	13,122	0.76
Ghana	1977	1,071	9,781	1.02
Guinea	1976	277	16,350	0.61
Guinea-Bissau	1977	80	6,750	1.48
Ivory Coast	1975	321	15,218	0.66
Kenya	1978	1,270R	11,417	0.88
Lesotho	1977	67	18,657	0.54
Liberia	1975	170	10,047	1.00
Libya	1977	2,926	899	11.13
Malagasy	1977	784	10,867	0.92
Malawi	1977	116	47,638	0.21
Mauritania	1977	99	14,141	0.71
Morocco	1976	1,606	11,101	0.90
Mozambique	1977	285G	33,958	0.21
Niger	1977	114	42,623	0.23
Nigeria	1976	4,876	13,897	0.72
Rwanda	1977	120	37,125	0.27
Senegal	1977	334	15,719	0.64
Sierra Leone	1970	149	17,114	0.58
Somalia	1973	193	15,560	0.64
South Africa	1973	12,060	1,967	5.08
Sudan	1977	1,944	8,719	1.15
Swaziland	1976	54	9,204	1.09
Tanzania	1977	960	16,282	0.61
Togo	1977	128	18,359	0.54
Tunisia	1976	1,196	4,797	2.08
Uganda	1977	436	28,326	0.35
Upper Volta	1976	108	56,481	0.18
Western Sahara	1971	53	943	10.60

... (Cont.)

Table 7.1 (Cont.)

Zaire	1978	1,723	16,106	0.62
Zambia	1975	472G	10,373	0.96G
Zimbabwe	1976	919R	7,106	1.41R
Mali	1977	254	23,598	0.42
Africa	-	76,950[b]	5,434	1.84
Canada	1977	41,398	563	17.76

Notes:

a - Rate per 10,000 population.
b - Includes data for countries not included here.
G - Personnel in government services.
R - No register. Not all working in the country.

Source: World Health Organization 1980, Table 1.

emigration rates (Figure 7.1). Only seven countries with combined population accounting for 17.9 per cent of Africa had more than average levels of medical care. Of these Egypt and South Africa were sending considerable numbers of migrants to Canada, presumably including medical personnel.

Such a movement, known as brain drain, has been perceived by all developing countries as a way in which their economic and cultural development has been hampered. Thomas (1975) pointed out that:

> "In case of some developing countries in the Middle East, the Caribbean, and East and Central Africa, the incidence of brain drain can be more clearly established, since the growth of the economies presupposes adequate input of particular skills and there is less unemployed human capital. For example, Jamaica imports physicians from Korea, while many Jamaican doctors have emigrated to the United States and Canada. In such cases the leakage of talent means economic loss. When rich countries, in pursuit of their national goals absorb human capital which other countries have paid for by taxation and promote the achievement of their own goals, there is brain drain in the true sense" (p.470).

It may be added that whereas other developing countries may be suffering from an excess production of persons with particular skills Africa has not yet reached this stage. For instance, whereas scientists and engineers have been emigrating to Canada every year, there are still very few of these in Africa (Table 7.2). What has been said of medical and health personnel can be extended to the scientists, engineers and technicians. In some countries more than 60 per cent of the scientific and technical manpower is foreign. Thus the emigration of the individuals from the available stock diminishes the prospects of further development for the countries concerned. Research and development in Africa are also limited by the lack of personnel (Table 7.3).

Nearly everywhere the middle-level manpower and highly skilled personnel are in critically short supply. In addition, the existing secondary and vocational education still underproduces such skills (Henderson 1970, p.50). A country like Cameroon which experiences a rate of return of 50 per-cent and zero per cent for privately sponsored technicians and doctors, respectively, has serious problems to overcome. The situation is not unique to Cameroon. A large outflow of persons like the clerical and related, sales workers, service workers, processing workers, i.e. non-manual but essential workers, as has been the case of immigrants from Africa to Canada, has serious implications for African countries. Their emigration to Canada has been an important factor in perpetuating the shortages and scarcities in specific sectors of African economies.

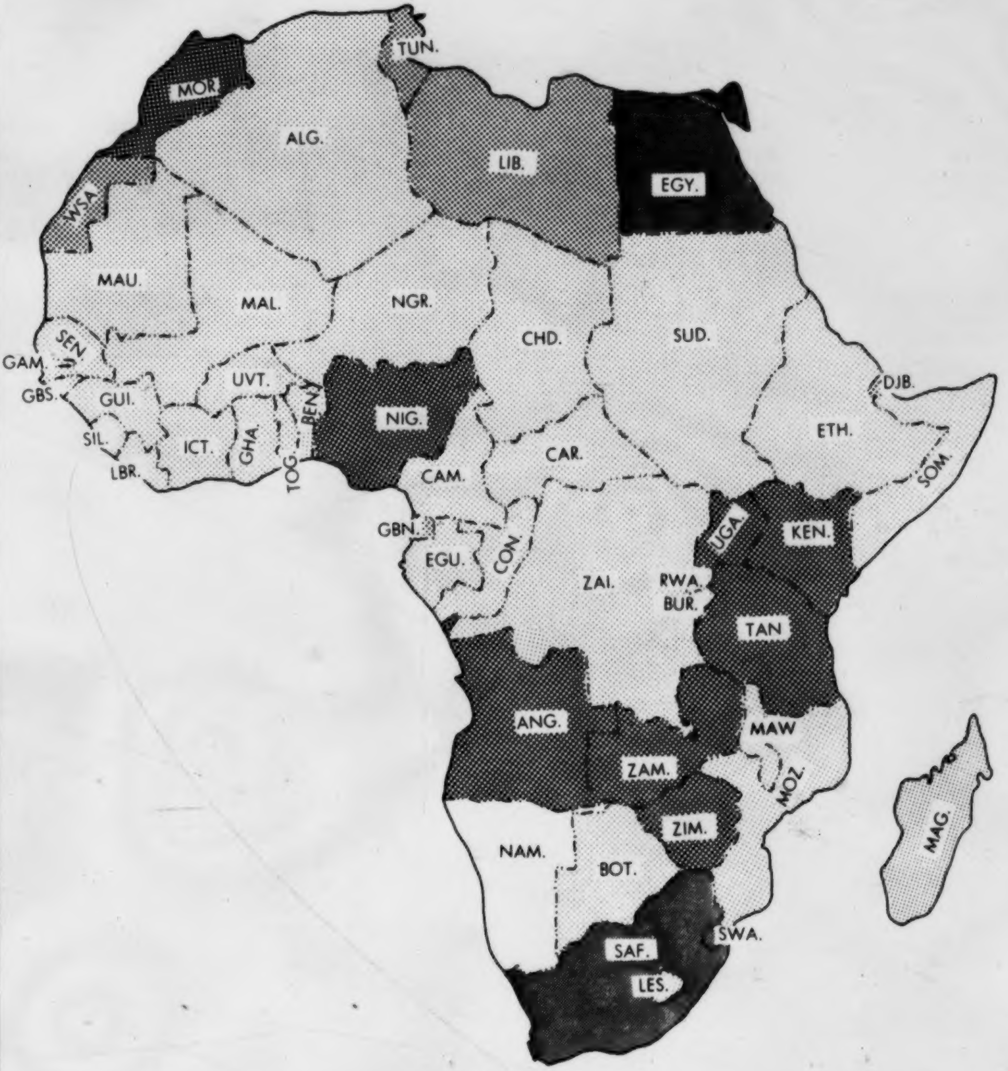

MOR.
TUN.
ALG.
LIB.
EGY.
WSA.
MAU.
MAL.
NGR.
CHD.
SUD.
SEN.
GAM.
GBS.
GUI.
UVT.
BEN.
NIG.
DJB.
ETH.
SIL.
ICT.
GHA.
TOG.
LBR.
CAM.
CAR.
SOM.
GBN.
EGU.
CON.
ZAI.
RWA.
BUR.
UGA.
KEN.
TAN
ANG.
MAW
ZAM.
MOZ.
MAG.
ZIM.
NAM.
BOT.
SWA.
SAF.
LES.

FIGURE 7.1 PROBABLE IMPACT OF EMIGRATION OF AFRICANS TO CANADA, AROUND 1977

Comparison of emigration rates (1964-1979) and medical density in African countries (around 1977)

- □ No data
- ░ Poorly served/ small emigration
- ▒ Relatively well served/small emigration
- ▓ Poorly served/significant emigration
- ■ Relatively well served/significant emigration

Small emigration = less } than average in Africa (1.6 emigrants to Canada per 1000,000)
High emigration = more }

Poorly served = less } than average in Africa (1.8 per 100,000)
Relatively well served = more }

500 0 500 1000 miles
0 500 1000 1500 kilometres

Sources: Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, ***Immigration Statistics, 1962-1979.*** World Health Organization 1980, Table 1.

TABLE 7.2 SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL MANPOWER IN AFRICA, LATEST YEAR AVAILABLE.

COUNTRY	YEAR		TOTAL	SCIENTISTS AND ENGINEERS	TECHNICIANS
Botswana	1972	ST	1,527	786[1]	741[1]
Cameroon	1971	ST	3,500[2]	...	...
Congo	1977	EA	...	...	3,461
Djibouti	1975	ST	35	35	-
Egypt	1973	ST	...	593,254	...
Gambia[3]	1973	ST	...	445	...
Ghana	1970	EA	21,993	6,897[4]	15,096[4,5]
Kenya[6]	1975	EA	11,009	5,130	5,879
Libya	1973	EA	18,921*	8,319[7]	10,602[7]
Nigeria	1970/71	ST	35,126	19,885[8]	15,241
Sudan	1971/72	ST	16,431*	13,792*	2,639*
Swaziland	1977	EA	1,384[9]	...	...
Togo	1971	EA	672	461	211
Tunisia	1974	EA	11,135	3,421[10]	7,714[10]
Zambia	1973	ST	37,000	11,000	26,000
Canada	1971		...	621,645[11]	...

Notes:

* - Provisional or estimated data.

...- Data not available.

- - Magnitude 0.

1 - 557 of the scientists and engineers and 171 of the technicians are foreigners.

2 - Data relate both to scientists and engineers and technicians; approximately 1,000 of the stock are foreigners.

3 - Data refer to persons aged 25 years and over having completed education at the third level.

4 - 1,761 of the scientists and engineers and 317 of the technicians are foreigners.

5 - Not including data for social sciences and humanities.

6 - Data refer to persons in gainful employment.

7 - Approximately 79% of the scientists and engineers and and 34% of the technicians are foreigners.

8 - Data do not include social sciences and humanities.

9 - Data relate to university degree-holders of which 972 are foreigners.

... (Cont.)

Table 7.2 (Cont.)

10 - Partial data.
11 - Data relate to university degree holders only.
ST - Stock of scientists, engineers and technicians.
EA - Number of economically active scientists, engineers and technicians.

Source: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization 1980, Table 5.1.

TABLE 7.3 SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL MANPOWER ENGAGED IN RESEARCH AND EXPERIMENTAL DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA, LATEST YEAR AVAILABLE.

COUNTRY	YEAR	SCIENTIST AND ENGINEERS	TECHNICIANS
Algeria[1]	1972	242	100
Botswana	1973	24	18
Cameroon	1971	329[2]	...
Central African Rep.[1]	1975	76	3
Chad[3]	1971	85	102
Congo	1977	284[4]	...
Egypt	1973	10,665	...
Gabon[5]	1970	8	20
Ghana	1976	4,084	5,735[6]
Ivory Coast	1970	319	222
Kenya	1975	361[7]	183[7]
Libya	1973	50[8]	142[8]
Malagasy Rep.[9]	1971	201	97
Malawi	1977	189[10]	242
Niger	1976	93[11]	1
Nigeria[12]	1970/71	2,083	733*
Senegal	1972	392	516
Sudan	1978	3,266	3,271
Togo	1976	261[13]	184
Tunisia	1974	818[14]	552*
Zambia	1976	250[15]	150
Canada	1977	24,590	15,963

Notes:

* - Magnitude nil.

...- No data available.

1 - Data relate to the higher education sector only.

2 - Approximately 204 of the number are foreigners.

3 - Partial data.

4 - Full-time plus part-time scientists and engineers in productive sector (non-integrated R % D) and the higher education sector only.

5 - Data relate to the (French) "Office de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique Outre-Mer" (ORSTOM) only. All scientists and engineers are foreigners.

6 - Including auxiliary personnel.

7 - Not including data for humanities.

... (Cont.)

Table 7.3 (Cont.)

8 - Approximately 80% of the scientists and engineers and 40% of the technicians are foreigners.
9 - Not including data for the productive sector (integrated R & D).
10 - 115 of the scientists and engineers and 2 of the technicians are foreginers.
11 - 59 of the scientists and engineers are foreigners.
12 - Not including data for social sciences and humanities.
13 - Full-time scientists and engineers only.
14 - Data relate to full-time plus part-time scientists and engineers.
15 - Partial data. 222 scientists and engineers are foreigners.

Source: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization 1980, Table 5.2.

Moreover, the extent of the damage cannot be explained in numbers of immigrants only. Even small losses can be important to the African countries which are short of trained personnel. For these countries with unfilled jobs losing anyone is a sacrifice.

Other researchers have reported that African emigrants simply stay temporarily abroad and work in order to gain some experience before returning to Africa (Das 1974; Glaser 1978). The results from the present study suggest that although the desire to go back to Africa is still in the emigrants' migratory plans the chances that most would return are slim. Moreover, it has been recognized that experience of those who later return to Africa has not always been helpful to the development process (OECD 1979; Watanabe 1969). This may be why some students opt to stay on particularly if they are in fields and at levels which are of little use to the homeland (Das 1974, p.81), although this is not always the case (Glaser 1978). In addition, emigration to Canada has included those persons who fail to adjust at home. The experience which is supposed to stabilize the returning emigrants may in fact induce them to repeat the move.

There are ways in which sending countries gain by having some of their nationals staying and working abroad. For instance, in certain cases education for African emigrants to Canada is paid for by the Canadian Government through development assistance or some other means. As Das (1974, p.81) has stated, "The student is receiving his education with least expense to his country, and the African nation is receiving the much needed benefits of that education." But this may be entirely so, if that student finally goes back to his own country, if the home country does not subsidize those studies and if that student does not end up in Canada after staying in Africa for some time.

Countries of origin may benefit through remittances which emigrants in developed countries send to support relatives and friends who are left behind. Some Mediterranean and Latin American countries have benefited from such remittances and have encouraged their nationals to emigrate (Watanabe 1969, p.406). There are, however, no statistics to ascertain the contribution of such remittances sent to Africa. There is an additional problem in that most of the remittances where they occur are spent on conspicuous consumption or goods produced in developed countries. The Edmonton interviews indicate that only a quarter have been sending money to their relatives. Remittances are vulnerable to the policies and relations of the countries involved: "The value of remittances sent back home may partly compensate for those losses [discussed above], but the remittances are uncertain and subject to stoppage or control in the time of crisis" (Davis 1974, p.105).

The statistics on immigrants and much of the literature on the immigration process give partial pictures of the complicated situations. There is a need to distinguish between immigrants who come to Canada with skills and experience and leave their positions unfilled and those who come as students with no practical experience. As the interviews have indicated, those who did not come as students actually left positions behind, and some of the students were working before they decided to come for further studies but stayed on after completing their study programmes. In this regard advantages are outweighed by the disadvantages for African countries.

D. Effects on the Destination

The importance of an immigrant is different for the area of origin and the area of destination. The serious losses of personnel by Africa do not necessarily represent equally great gains for Canada. However, immigration into Canada has been beneficial to the country. As early as 1966, it was observed that:

> "Without a substantial continuing flow of immigrants, it is doubtful that we could sustain the high rate of economic growth and the associated cultural development which are essential to the maintenance and development of our national identity beside the economic and cultural pulls of our neighbour to the South" (Canada 1966a, p.7).

Since acquisition of skills uses up resources, the immigration of African workers to Canada represent a gain for the receiving country. It is a gain because Canada recruits skills at low social costs even where the country of origin has just paid for the non-productive years of the immigrants concerned. At the time the Canadian Government was liberalizing its immigration policy, it was stated by J.J. Deutsch, then Chairman of the Economic Council of Canada, to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Immigration, in December 1966 that:

> "It is a matter of social and political policy whether you want to bring people here and then educate and train them here or whether you want to bring them in educated or trained . . . You can bring in immigrants who are already trained as much as possible or, if you want to, you can bring them in and train and educate them here. But that means you must be prepared from social and political point of view to do this. In other words, it costs money; it takes time and it requires capital and at the same time we have a heavy job to do in relation to our population. We never had so many young people in this country as we have now . . . We are going to try to give them an adequate education. That is very important and it costs a lot of money" (quoted from Hawkins 1972, p.46).

These reservations were expressed fifteen years ago, in reality the post-1966 period marks the time immigration from Africa increased tremendously. Recent estimates by DeVoretz and Maki (1980) give some of the savings Canada has made by recruiting the already educated and trained manpower from other parts of the world. Although the contribution of immigrants from Africa cannot permit quantification because of lack of data it was not insignificant considering its high quality in terms of educational and occupational qualifications and because most of the immigrants have been active.

Other things being equal, immigration leads to an increase in the number, quality and productivity of the labour force. Immigration to Canada has relieved various shortages in the quality and quantity of the Canadian domestic labour force. Immigrants have been accounting for a third of the net addition to the Canadian labour force annually (Jenness 1974, pp.8-9). The proportion has tended to drop as the impact of the postwar baby boom has been felt and as the number of immigrants destined to the labour force has declined. Moreover, immigration from the less developed countries has been accounting for over 30 per cent of the increase in the Canadian professional and technical manpower in engineering, managerial, medical and health (physicians and nurses) occupations since 1967 (DeVoretz and Maki 1980, p.792).

Canadian immigrants tend to be young adults who have provided significant input to the society as a whole during the times of economic expansion and/or fertility decline – although for the latter the impact on the labour market is felt some years later. These two events, *ceteris paribus*, result in manpower shortages and hence, a need to recruit immigrants to fill them. Since at least 50 per cent of the immigrants from Africa arriving in Canada have been entering the labour force, it can be argued that they have been an integral part of the general development that has taken place during the postwar period. Their numbers may still be very small but their contribution quite significant.

Nonetheless, immigration is not only a movement of factors of production but also a movement of people. It involves social and economic costs and the mixing of cultures with, at times, serious tensions as consequences. Economic costs involve the provision of goods and services for large and increasing numbers of newcomers. Social costs are incurred by trying to provide for the immigrants' integration in local communities. In the process there may develop tensions due to cultural differences, skin colour, competing claims for jobs, language barriers, etc. Racial problems, prejudice and discrimination in the Canadian society have been noted whenever the economic expansion, which brought the immigrants into Canada, slowed down, stopped or reversed itself (Breton *et al* 1974, p.31). A proportionate expansion of the number of immigrants in an expanding Canadian economy has always been welcome, but when the situation changes any number of immigrants is likely to be called excessive. As has been indicated earlier, it was the increasing immigration from developing countries in a slowingdown economy that led to the new 1976 Immigration Act. However since there are no predominantly African communities within same neighbourhoods the impact of immigrants from Africa has been minimized.

The way the host society feels about increasing numbers of immigrants is important. The native working class tends to feel that it is increasingly deprived as educational and training requirements are raised and as it frequently finds itself in conflict with incoming groups over scarce resources. Especially low-income groups may believe that the economic gains of immigrants make them vulnerable groups, and perceive the government tends to "to do more" for the racial ethnic minorities (Breton *et al* 1974, p.19).

Reliance on skilled immigrants to meet manpower shortages in the long run is said to lower the supply of training and educational facilities for the native-born, consequently limiting their access to higher-paying jobs (ECC 1978). According to Davis (1974, pp.103-104) immigration leads to the perpetuation of unproductive jobs and foregoing of capital investment, i.e., the slowdown of the technical progress in the receiving country. Davis has argued that a large immigration, say of physicians or other professionals from underdeveloped countries deprives natives of opportunities for upward mobility and allows inadequacies in the systems of professional training to persist. While the latter is true in the case of underdeveloped countries it is doubtful if it applies to a developed country like Canada. Parai (1974) has concluded that:

> "Perhaps immigration, by providing a more abundant supply of labour, discouraged the adoption of labour-saving techniques and more efficient technology or, conversely, by enabling a higher rate of investment in capital, enabled entrepreneurs more readily to adopt the available improved technology; the current state of knowledge does enable one to conclude what, if any, (net) effect immigration may have had on this. These considerations seem to indicate that on the whole the impact of immigration on economic growth has been favourable, but it is not possible to estimate the magnitude of its contribution to growth; if it is assumed that net immigration contributed at least one quarter of the economies of scale and contributed similarly to education and the age structure of the labour force, and that the capital-labour ratio would have remained the same in the absence of immigration, then approximately one-tenth of the growth during the period may be attributed to net migration" (p.67).

However, the fears that immigration creates unemployment even among qualified Canadians has been discounted by the evidence that immigrants with higher educational standards have had higher unemployment rates than Canadian citizens with similar standards (Canada 1974d, pp.24-27). Immigrants have been accepting jobs below their qualifications and those which Canadians have not been eager to enter. There are certain plants or divisions of a plant which have been entirely staffed by immigrant workers (CCL 1974). In addition some immigrants, e.g., businessmen and entrepreneurs, have provided jobs for Canadians. By the same token, entrepreneurs and other immigrants have brought into Canada substantial amounts of capital. In 1978 570 entrepreneurs and self-employed persons brought to Canada $161 million which was 27.5 per cent of all the funds brought by immigrants. In 1979 the 1,282 entrepreneurs and self-employed persons brought with them $217 million, which amounted to 28.0 per cent of the funds brought by immigrants (Canada 1980, pp.41-42).

By going to areas of higher place utility immigrants have contributed to the existing disparities in regional growth, aggregate wealth and urban congestion. The questions about immigrants in Canada were raised in the early 1970s with regard to their role to influence the size, rate of growth, structure and geographic distribution. The last issue was a major subject in the *Green Paper* which led to the adoption of the system of allocating or deducting five points depending on whether or not the immigrants intended to settle in areas with need for workers and adequate services.

Figure 7.2 shows relative importance of African immigration as measured by immigration rates. The rates varied greatly among the provinces. If the expected

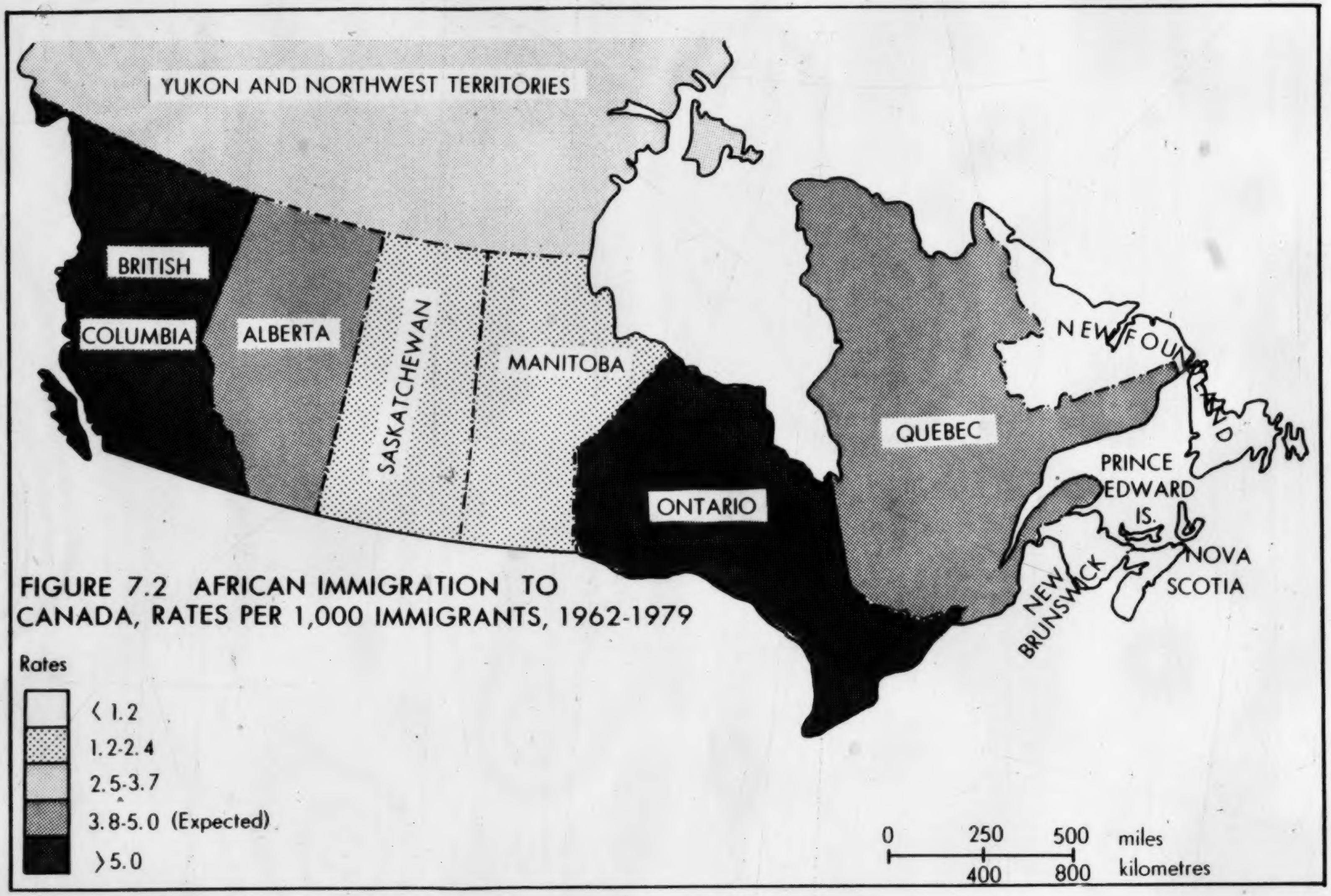

YUKON AND NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
BRITISH
COLUMBIA
ALBERTA
SASKATCHEWAN
MANITOBA
ONTARIO
QUEBEC
NEWFOUNDLAND
PRINCE
EDWARD
IS.
NOVA
SCOTIA
NEW
BRUNSWICK
Rates
< 1.2
1.2-2.4
2.5-3.7
3.8-5.0 (Expected)
> 5.0
0
250
500
miles
400
800
kilometres

FIGURE 7.2 AFRICAN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA, RATES PER 1,000 IMMIGRANTS, 1962-1979

Sources: Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, ***Immigration Statistics, 1962-1979.***
Canada, ***Census of Canada, 1971.***

immigration rates are taken to be close to the national average only two provinces – Alberta with 4.4 per 1,000 and Quebec with the rate of 4.6 could be seen as receiving their fair share. Two prosperous provinces – British Columbia and Ontario had rates above the average and all remaining provinces fell below the expected level. It is interesting to note that Yukon and the Northwest Territories had a higher rate than the rest of the areas in the "below expected" category.

E. Effects on the Intervening Space

Immigration has intangible effects on the intervening space because it involves transitory groups of people who have "no interaction with the area other than by passing through it" (White and Woods 1980, p.47). Here the selectivity of the immigration process does not operate as it does for other factors, except for the constraints on the direction of flows based on the perceived place utility of different destinations. But intervening opportunities limit the distance travelled for the lower status immigrants who are weeded out of the migration system unless they are close relatives and hence, their destination is unalterable.

Other things being equal, Canada is likely to win immigrants over other receiving countries because of its favourable immigration policy and peaceful society. This has already been elaborated earlier.

F. Perpetuation of African Immigration to Canada?

In the quotation at the opening of this chapter, it was stated that immigration occurs in a structural context and that immigration may affect the structure in such a way that it exists as a structure itself. If anything, a self-fuelling and self-perpetuating migration system has been created by immigrants from Africa who have been residing in Canada. Satisfaction with life in Canada has been relayed to relatives and friends back in Africa. Some of the immigrants have sponsored others from Africa. Some of them were sponsored.

It is possible at this time to suggest that there are a few African countries which have developed sustained information flows leading to immigration into Canada. The topmost countries can be included in this category: Egypt, South Africa, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Also other countries seem to be starting to send more immigrants than they did previously.

There appears to be, for some immigrants, especially the African-Asian group, a well-established chain migration. Through the sponsorship system many immigrants will have a chance to sponsor others.

According to Richmond (1975a, pp.176-177) in the future developing countries like those of Africa, which are experiencing rapid population growth and lack of opportunities, may see in the emigration to Canada a solution to their needs and ambitions. This may prove illusory however, because it has been demonstrated that problems of underdeveloped countries *cannot* be solved by emigration (Davis 1974, p.105; Grigg 1980, pp.76-77; UN 1973, p.229). Moreover, such a solution even if realistic, would only aggravate all the problems created by brain drain.

VIII. CONCLUSIONS

To almost every problem there is a solution -- either so complicated that there is little chance of it being adopted, or so simple and logical that there is no chance of it being adopted.

Richard Needham n.d.
Quoted from a Computer Print-out
University of Alberta

A. Introduction

The main objective of this study has been to identify trends and patterns of African immigration to Canada since the Second World War as well as to analyze their impact.

The study has confirmed that the decision to migrate is reached differently by various individuals as they are influenced by social, political and economic conditions in both Africa and Canada. African immigration to Canada has significantly increased since 1962, and especially during the 1970s. In the early postwar period most of the immigrants came from Northern Africa but over time Eastern and Southern Africa represented major areas of origin. Immigration from Western and Central Africa has been small in comparison with other regions although it has been increasing lately.

The Canadian immigration policy has been the greatest determining factor in African immigration to Canada in terms of volume and composition. Prior to 1962 African immigration was small mainly because of the attitudes of the Canadian Government to non-preferred immigration into which the African flow fell. Since 1962 when admission has been based on education and training quite a few highly trained and qualified immigrants from Africa began entering Canada. There are other possible reasons. For instance, during the first half of the postwar period most of the African countries were colonial dependencies with few educated nationals. Consequently, most of the immigrants were non-nationals and settlers who were leaving just before or soon after independence. But with increased need for educated African nationals many students have been sent abroad. Some of them opt to stay abroad after completing their studies. Others return to Africa but come back to Canada after staying in their home country for some time. Therefore, recently immigration includes large numbers of nationals of African countries.

Political and economic conditions in Africa and Canada have also played a considerable role among the causes of African immigration to Canada. Economic factors have been particularly important for those who have had direct contact (previous residence) with Canada. For both political and economic factors there appears to have been a direct relationship between the changing situation in Africa and the intensity of African immigration to Canada. It has been emphatically stated that geographical mobility is not necessarily created by the existence of better opportunities. These opportunities must be perceived and evaluated (Bohning 1981). Immigrants from Africa choose places of higher place utility as destinations. Those who have been to Canada before tend to choose places already known at least in the first stage. Those with no prior contact with Canada choose destinations where they have relatives and/or friends. This means that communication channels are important in decisions to select the destination. However, the completeness of information about the destination tends to be limited and this can lead to further migration once in Canada.

About half of the annual flows of immigrants from Africa consist of those destined to the labour force. On the average, immigrants from Africa have been better educated than other immigrants and prior to 1976 most of them fell under the independent category. With the immigration policy now emphasizing family reunion both the proportions of independent immigrants and those destined to the labour force have been declining.

Immigrants from Africa have been young adults, mainly concentrated in the 15-34 age group. Whereas males predominated in the early postwar flows the opposite was true in the much larger flows in the 1970s. It is likely that prior to 1970 most of the immigrants initially migrated alone and sent for their families only later. More recently families tend to immigrate together. Immigrants from Africa to Canada have experienced a general improvement in their socioeconomic well-being. This has been reflected in their incomes, access to various material goods and general affluence. The dispersed nature of the settlement of immigrants from Africa in Canada has minimized their impact on the host communities.

Most respondents interviewed in Edmonton were homesick and lonely and hoped that one day they would return to their home countries. However, the analysis seems to suggest that their moves tend to be permanent, and other things being equal, the hope of going back to Africa will remain unfulfilled for most of them.

B. Is African Immigration to Canada Good or Bad?

The question of whether international migration of workers is bad or good depends on whether it is seen from a nationalistic, internationalistic or humanistic point of view.

According to the nationalistic viewpoint, immigration of manpower from a developing to a developed country is bad because it inflicts irreparable losses and robs the former of leadership and irreplaceable, innovative personnel. In this light emigration of highly- and/or semi-skilled personnel from Africa is detrimental to the developmental process. Such migrations contain a *drain* and are seen by some leaders as "an act of treason and theft" (Zahlan 1977, p.320). It involves the loss and wastage of every available resource which would have been put into educating the emigrants with the belief that eventually they would relieve manpower problems, build necessary institutions and reform bureaucracies.

The internationalistic point of view contends that the world has become one common market for highly qualified manpower and there is no such thing as brain drain but a free movement of part of the factors of production. Labour simply locates in a country where it is most wanted and where it will give greater marginal productivity and is the most important means of transmitting information and technology (Grubel and Scott 1977). Moreover, focussing on drains shifts emphasis unduly away from more fundamental questions of the utilization of talent (regardless of location) and rules out potential gains (Myers 1967). In fact, developing countries are not being stripped of the badly needed manpower but being relieved of the surplus manpower they cannot use (Baldwin 1970).

Those representing the humanistic viewpoint would argue that an individual person should be free to choose association, occupation, and residence of his choice. Professionals may leave their country because they do not find any real meaning in their environment or because they realize their international market value and come to the conclusion that their continued stay at home would lead to apathy and a loss of their skill (see Zahlan 1977). According to the United Nations Human Rights Charter, "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own and to return to his country" (UN 1973, p.33). However, international movement is effectively controlled by receiving countries and by sending countries in some cases. After all, already in the 1947 speech, Mackenzie King argued that admission to Canada was a privilege and not a fundamental human right.

Therefore, the issue of international circulation of labour, especially that of professionals and other highly qualified personnel, is both an emotional and complex one. African countries have been losing significant numbers and proportions of their trained persons. As any scale of trained emigration from Africa is likely to produce adverse effects on employment and productivity in African countries it can be argued that it is undesirable. Though the impact differs from one country to another and from one sector of the economy to the other it is highly probable that the slow rate of economic development in some African countries may be both a cause and an effect of the outflow of the much needed manpower.

C. What Are the Solutions?

What solutions are possible against the movement of trained workers from Africa or any developing country to developed countries? How effective are those solutions? There are four measures that can be adopted to curb excessive emigration or immigration or minimize its adverse effects: (1) preventive measures, (2) restrictive measures, (3) restorative measures, and (4) compensatory measures. These are not mutually exclusive measures.

Preventive Measures

Accelerating economic development by African countries can reduce the outflow of their nationals to developed countries. This seems to be working for the three Maghreb countries. Emigration of professionals and other highly trained persons could be prevented by making facilities, equipment, etc., available to them. Other incentives may be offered. For instance, in the 1960s Argentina granted returning emigrants customs privileges – they could import scientific instruments and apparatus, an automobile, and personal effects up to a value of $4,000. Attention was also paid to their appointment to suitable responsible positions and to the provision of adequate research facilities (Watanabe 1969, p.431).

Professionals should also be given decision-making power so that they can build up self-confidence and prestige in whatever they are doing. They need an atmosphere which is conducive to further progress and not where decision-making processes, promotions and other bureaucratic procedures are weighted against them. According to Watanabe (1969):

> "Conservative attitudes and lack of entrepreneurship among managers may also darken their [young people's] future prospect, while in developed countries . . . younger persons are given posts of responsibility and greater opportunities for bold, original research and experimentation in a more stimulating working climate" (p.422).

Moreover, realistic manpower policies in national development plans should be developed and implemented. Manpower needs should be translated into effective supply and demand. The educational system should be co-ordinated with manpower needs so that training of unemployable persons is avoided. If this happens the persons involved become irrelevant to Africa and might become relevant to the needs of a developed country. Although such a critical stage has not been reached in Africa it does occur in other areas. India does already have these problems.

"Recapture" mechanisms can be employed as well. This means that African countries should keep in contact with their nationals abroad (Baldwin 1970). This works well if students abroad are on government scholarship, and while abroad they can be constantly informed about prospects of employment at home. However, interviews in Edmonton suggest that such information may lead to emigration.

African countries are likely to lose their trained manpower where consideration is focused on income differentials between the ones they can offer and those offered by a developed country like Canada. Concerned countries like Canada should expand their capacities to produce the necessary manpower in those fields where skills are scarce rather than depend on immigrants. The Canadian Government can be approached to reduce or stop "recruiting" trained people from Africa. In fact such restraint has been hinted at

> "the Department [of Employment and Immigration] has taken the position that it will not actively seek immigrants in developing countries and will respect the wishes of such countries which request that our immigration activities be curtailed in their territory" (quoted from Parai 1975, p.24).

Can the Canadian Government close down all the offices it has recently established in Africa? It can. However, locating an immigration office is a response by the Canadian Government to the increased number of potential immigrants. It is also a deliberate effort aimed at recruiting immigrants from that area. How can these two apparent opposite positions be reconciled? Would not the action be labelled discriminatory as was stated before? Should the Canadian Government deny entry of a person who fears political persecution?

The best answer seems to lie in building institutions in African countries which have to offer satisfying careers including the adaptation of economic and training schemes to national needs and offering trained nationals conditions permitting them to remain and serve their own countries. There is, in some countries, a need to reduce the time lag between graduation and employment by establishing effective job counselling and employment services (Zahlan 1977, p.326). Funds should be kept and used to invite professors to come and instruct students in Africa rather than sending them abroad – thus guaranteeing them education which is relevant to national needs and protecting them from the lure of life in developed countries (Watanabe 1969, p.428).

Restrictive Measures

It has already been pointed out that immigration policies and rules in all receiving countries have become very restrictive since the early 1970s. Restrictive measures here call for even tougher rules and regulations. But erecting barriers against African immigration would imply going back to the pre-1967 period immigration policy. It is very unlikely that Canada can follow such a policy considering its position towards Africa in international affairs.

Developed countries have been called upon to eliminate any part of their immigration laws and regulations which have the effect of encouraging the entry of professionals and other qualified immigrants (see Bohning 1977, pp.315-316 for some recommendations), especially in countries with recognized or potential shortages of such workers.

Restricting the emigration of nationals would be difficult to implement unless the countries concerned become police states. However restricting the movement of people is not a good solution since it denies professionals and others "cross fertilization" of ideas which can only occur through constant contact with more developed centres of study (Khatkhate 1970). Emigration can be restricted in various ways, including an exit tax justified as a compensation for the cost of education but such measures are rather controversial.

Bhagwati and Dellalfar (1973) stated that:

> "It has been alleged that a tax on emigration is a violation of fundamental human rights. This is a fundamentally agreeable position in an *ideal* world order. But note that this position entails that impediments to *immigration* are *also* violations of the fundamental human right to be located where one wishes to be; and characteristically, the stiffest immigration restrictions, frequently of a political and racial nature, are typically practised by the very same countries and groups which uphold the 'fundamental right to emigrate.' Morality here tends to reflect self-interest somewhat excessively. In a world of nation states, where immigration policies are typically devised to reflect national advantage rather than notions of utopian world order, it surely makes sense for countries to seek suitable restrictions on emigration as well, in their own interest" (pp.97-98).

Restrictive measures include the denial of passports, requirements of domestic service for newly graduating professionals or simply making exit very difficult by other methods. Sri Lanka experimented with renewal of passports being conditional on the transmission of funds from the "stay-ons". It was stopped after some protests. Restrictive methods are thus a nuisance and pose more difficulties than solutions they offer and are usually revoked after protests (Bhagwati 1976a, p.720).

Restorative Measures

It is argued that if developed countries are interested in the development of the poor nations they should encourage temporary immigration rather than permanent settlement by recruiting workers on a contract basis and sending back (deporting?) those immigrants who have overstayed. However, other things being equal, the aim of admitting immigrants is to encourage permanent immigration. Such a proposal would be costly for Canada because it would mean monitoring all the movements of immigrants from abroad. According to the Canadian law immigrants are free to locate wherever they want and checking on some immigrants would run contrary to such ideals.

The Canadian Government may continue encouraging students from Africa who complete their study programmes to leave soon after completing. However, not all students who come to study in Canada go directly back to their home countries. Some proceed to other receiving countries for further studies. Those who are determined to immigrate to Canada can apply from there. The United States has stipulated that exchange visitors must return to a developing country and stay there continuously for two years before they can be admitted as immigrants. According to Bhagwati and Dellalfar (1973) the policy has been ineffective.

Calls have been made for the receiving country to replace, through technical assistance, the professionals whom it may take from a developing country (Amuzegar 1968). This proposal is not a permanent solution since dependence on manpower that would eventually be withdrawn is not acceptable in the long run.

Compensatory Measures

It has been argued that if developed countries accept immigrants from developing countries, they should repay the costs the latter incurred while training those immigrants and also for their maintenance during their unproductive years. The costs should be calculated realistically so that the compensation would cover the losses and also act as a deterrent to emigration of highly trained manpower.

Bhagwati (1976b) has suggested that:

> "The tax could be located on the emigrants on the argument that it is their emigration (which is both desirable to permit under individualistic ethics and human rights principle *and*, almost certainly, accompanied by improvement in material comforts to the emigrants in transiting from LDCs [less developed countries] to DCs [developed countries]) which is the proximate source of these losses and hence it would be fair to consider the emigrants as a tax source for compensation to the LDCs. The argument for treating the losses to LDCs as a source of (*generalized*) taxation in DCs of destination would, however, have to be based, for fairness, on some notion such as that the immigration is not free but restricted for national advantage and hence there is a prima facie case that the DCs benefit from the immigration of skilled manpower; if so, one could fairly assess a tax on DCs, who improve their welfare through permitting such skilled immigration, by relating to the losses on the LDCs that such migration entails" (p.10).

In this regard a developed country should be taxed and a fund created which has to be used in developmental objectives in developing countries. A country receiving more immigrants (more benefits) should pay more to the fund. Special cases may arise where a given African country may not necessarily have invested in the skills acquired by immigrants in question. In this case compensation could be adjusted.

There are inherent in the immigration of skilled workers from developing to developed countries "imputed capital flows" which are of an economic nature. Developing countries have been trying to demonstrate that flows of capital, assistance, etc., which they get from developed countries fall short of their expectation and that the latter try to minimize their own obligations and maximize the ostensible magnitude of their contributions. Bhagwati (1976b) has stated that:

> "In this international economic order, built almost cynically upon maximal LDC pressures and minimal DC responses, it is a favourite game for the DCs to compute their contributions of capital to LDCs by adding together private capital flows and official assistance of varying content in terms of grant-equivalence. It is well known, of course, that this aggregate of nominal capital flows is excellent for cosmetics; and, regardless of real worth of these different types of flows, the overall figures in nominal terms possess good value in persuading people into considering the actual DC contributions to be very much more substantial than they are" (p. 11).

Sometimes immigration of skilled manpower from developing to developed countries is considered as the "reverse flow of capital." By the same argument given above the developed countries have been urged to increase their aid and services to developing countries in order to compensate for the losses incurred during the transaction.

Furthermore, an individual emigrant can be assessed a fee to be paid at the exit post as has been practised for some time in the Soviet Union. A person whose skills are needed most should be taxed highly to reduce the probability of his leaving the country. Nonetheless, even such a deterrent tax would not stop some from emigrating. Bhagwati (1976a, 1976b) has suggested a surtax to be levied in the country of immigration. The justification for this is that developing African countries have a progressive income tax system, so emigrants should be assessed a tax according to their earning power for a period up to ten years.

The compensatory measures have several conceptual and statistical problems which have rendered their implementation difficult. For example, how should the flows be measured? By whom? Who should levy the tax? How? When? Does the Canadian institution allow taxes to be collected on behalf of foreign countries? Some argue that funds could be collected through the interested agencies of the United Nations (Bhagwati 1976a, 1976b; Bhagwati and Dellalfar 1973).

Taxing the brain may not be appropriate because it basically assumes that everyone migrates because of economic reasons forgetting that emigration may arise from political difficulties and personal problems, including frustrations. Immigration or emigration should be allowed for humanistic reasons.

D. Limitations of Present Study and Suggestions for Further Study

Data on African immigration to Canada are incomplete because they only show gross inflows. For a complete analysis accurate information on the emigrants who eventually return to Africa or go elsewhere should be incorporated. Information on return emigrants is important for other purposes as well. For instance, various questions are begging for answers: Have the return emigrants become agents in the modernization process of their country? What were their motives for returning? Where did they settle? What were their income and employment characteristics, new social status, mobility, aspirations and/or their levels of satisfaction and integration? (King 1978).

It should be emphasized that a further study, probably to be conducted in Africa, should not be based on interviewing students who have studied abroad unless they changed their status after completing their studies. This should be so because initially most students hope to return to their home countries but some of them change aspirations and perceptions after completing their programmes. As the present study has indicated there has been a general desire to return to Africa but no further action has been taken.

The limitations of data have not permitted the analysis of the role African immigration has played in augmenting Canada's manpower. Neither was it possible to establish whether African immigration constituted a large or small proportion of graduates in the countries of origin. A further study incorporating these themes would be most appropriate. Official immigration statistics do not show whether immigrants were gainfully employed or not before they immigrate so other sources of data would be needed.

Not all countries of Africa have been included in this study. All surrounding "African islands" with the exception of Malagasy Republic have been left out. They are included with Oceania. Statistics for Mauritius show that emigration of its nationals to Canada is significant.

The scale of analysis embracing the whole continent can be narrowed to one region or a few countries within it to verify the generalizations that have been made in this study. A detailed look at one region may show shortages, scarcities or abundance which may not have been manifested in the present study.

Lastly, classification of immigrants on the basis of country of last permanent residence is not sufficient since it does not indicate who the immigrants were. We cannot be sure, for instance, that all immigrants from Zambia in a given period were its nationals. Cross-tabulations comparing residence with citizenship were available only for Egypt and South Africa.

Despite these problems the study has highlighted trends and patterns of African immigration to Canada in the postwar period. If anything, it is a basis for further research on African immigration to Canada.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adam, W., ed., 1968, *The Brain Drain*, New York: Macmillan Company.

Aderanti, A., 1977, Migration and Development in Tropical Africa: Some Research Priorities, *African Affairs*, Vol. 76, No. 303, pp.210-225.

Akerman, S., 1976, Theories and Methods of Migration Research, in: Runblom, H. and Norman, H. eds, pp.17-75.

Akerman, S., 1978, Towards an Understanding of Emigration Processes, in: McNeill, W.H. and Adams, R.S., eds. pp.286-306.

Alvarez, T.H., 1967, *Return Migration to Puerto Rico*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Amuzegar, J., 1968, Brain Drain and the Irony of Foreign Aid Policy, *Economia Internazionale*, Vol. 21, No. 4, pp.697-719.

Anderson, T.R., 1955, Intermetropolitan Migration: A Comparison of the Hypotheses of Zipf and Stouffer, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 20, No. 2, pp.287-291.

Andracki, S., 1978, *Immigration of Orientals into Canada with Special Reference to Chinese*, New York: Arno Press.

Andras, R., 1974, Recent Trends and Future Immigration Policy in Canada, *Journal of Comparative Sociology*, No. 2, pp.10-20.

Appleyard, R.T., 1977, Major International Population Movements and Policies: An Historical Review, *International Population Conference, Mexico 1977*,Vol. 2, Liege: International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, pp.291-305.

Baldwin, G.B., 1970, Brain Drain or Overflow? *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 48, No. 2, pp.358-372.

Barrett, F.A., 1976, A Schema for Indirect International Migration, *International Migration Review*, Vol. X, No. 1, pp.3-11.

Beaujot, R.P., 1978, Canada's Population: Growth and Dualism, *Population Bulletin*, Vol. 33, No. 2.

Beijer, G., 1969, Modern Patterns of International Migratory Movements, in: Jackson, ed., pp.11-59.

Bell, M., 1980, Past Mobility and Spatial Preferences for Migration in East Africa, in:

White, P. and Woods, R., eds., pp.84-107.

Bernard, W.S., 1976, Immigrants and Refugees: Their Similarities, Differences, and Needs, *International Migration*, Vol. XIV, No. 1/2, pp.267-281.

Bertley, L.W., 1977, *Canada and its People of African Descent*, Pierrefonds,P.Q.: Bilongo Publishers.

Bhagwati, J.N., 1976a, The Brain Drain, *International Social Science Journal*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 4, pp.691-729.

Bhagwati, J.N., 1976b, The International Brain Drain and Taxation: A Survey of Issues, in: Bhagwati, J.N., ed., *The Brain Drain and Taxation: Theory and Empirical Evidence, II*, Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, pp.3-27.

Bhagwati, J.N. and Dellalfar, W., 1973, The Brain Drain and Income Taxation, *World Development*, Vol. 1, No. 1/2, pp.94-101.

Bhagwati, J.N. and Partington, M. , eds., 1976, *Taxing the Brain: A Proposal, I*, Amsterdam: North Holland Publishing Company.

Bohning, W.R., 1974, Immigration Policies of Western European Countries, *International Migration Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, pp.155-163.

Bohning, W.R., 1977, The Migration of Workers from Poor to Rich Countries: Facts, Problems, Policies, *International Population Conference, Mexico 1977*, Vol. 2, Liege: International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, pp.307-318.

Bohning, W.R., 1979, Elements of a Theory of International Migration and Compensation, *Population Bulletin of the Economic Commission for Western Asia*, No. 17, pp.3-17.

Bohning, W.R., 1981, Elements of a Theory of International Economic Migration to Industrial Nation States, in: Kritz, M.M., Keely, C.B. and Tomasi , S.M., eds., pp.28-43.

Bonavia, G., 1977, *Focus on Canadian Immigration*, Ottawa: Information Canada.

Bonin, B., ed., 1976, *Immigration: Policy-Making Process and Results*, Toronto: Institute of Public Administration of Canada.

Borrie, W.D., 1966, International Migration as Related to Economic and Demographic Problems of Developing Countries, *International Population Conference, Belgrade 1965*, Vol. 1, New York: United Nations, pp.138-145.

Bouscaren, A.T., 1963, *International Migration Since 1945*, New York: Frederick A. Praeger.

Bouvier, L.F., Shryock, H.S. and Henderson, H.W., 1977, International Migration: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow, *Population Bulletin*, Vol. 32, No. 4.

Boyd, M., 1976, Immigration Policies and Trends: A Comparison of Canada and the United States, *Demography*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp.84–104.

Brown, L.A., 1968, *Diffusion Process and Location*, Philadelphia: Regional Science Research Institute.

Brown, L.A. and Moore, E.G., 1970, The Intra-Urban Migration Process: A Perspective, *Geografiska Annaler*, Vol. 52B, No. 1, pp.1–13.

Brown, L.A., Horton, F.E. and Wittick, R.I., 1970, On Place Utility and the Normative Allocation of Intra-Urban Migrants, *Geography*, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp.175–183.

Caldwell, J.C., 1968, Determinants of Rural-to-Urban Migration in Ghana, *Population Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp.361–377.

Caldwell, J.C., 1970, *African Rural-Urban Migration*, New York: Columbia University Press.

Canada, 1977a, *Immigration Act, 1976*, Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

Canada, 1978a, *Immigration Regulations, 1978*, Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, 1977b *Twenty Questions About Canada's New Immigration Act*, Ottawa: Immigration Branch.

Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, 1978b, *New Directions: A Look at Canada's Immigration Act and Regulations*, Ottawa: Love Printing Service.

Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, 1978c, *Immigration Statistics,1977 -1979*, Ottawa: Immigration Branch.

Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration, 1978d, *Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration Levels*, Ottawa: Immigration Branch.

Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration 1980, *Annual Report , 1979-1980*, Ottawa: Immigration Branch.

Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1958, *Canada Year Book, 1957-58*, Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1969, *Canada Year Book,1969*, Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1971, *Census of Canada, 1971*, Ottawa.

Canada, Immigration Branch, 1899–1945, *Immigration of Negroes from the United States to Western Canada,* Archival Material held in Volumes 192 and 193, Accession Numbers C7346–C7347, Edmonton: Provincial Museum and Archives.

Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1966a, *White Paper on Immigration,* Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration 1966b, *Immigration Statistics, 1966-1976,* Ottawa: Immigration Division.

Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1974a, *Immigration Policy Perspectives,* Ottawa: Information Canada.

Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1974b, *The Immigration Program,* Ottawa; Information Canada.

Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1974c *Immigration and Population Statistics,* Ottawa: Information Canada.

Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1974d, *Three Years in Canada,* Ottawa: Information Canada.

Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1975a, *Highlights from the Green Paper on Immigration and Population,* Ottawa: Information Canada. Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, 1977c, *Ugandan Expelles: The First Twelve Months in Canada,* Ottawa: Research Projects Group.

Canada, Special Joint Committee on Immigration Policy, 1975b *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and of the House of Commons on Immigration Policy,* Ottawa: Information Canada.

Canada, Statistics Canada, *Canada Year Book, 1972,* Ottawa: Information Canada.

Canada, Statistics Canada 1973, Canada Year Book, 1973, Ottawa: Information Canada.

Canada, 1977, Statistics Canada, *Canada Year Book, 1976/77,* Otttawa: Statistics Canada.

Canada, Statistics Canada, 1979, *Canada Year Book, 1978/79,* Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Carrothers, G.A., 1956, An Historical Review of the Gravity and Potential Concepts of Human Interaction, *Journal of American Institute of Planners,* Vol. 22, No. 1, pp.94–102.

Chaney, E.M., 1979, The World Economy and Contemporary Migration, *International Migration Review,* Vol. XIII, No. 2, pp.204–212.

Choldin, H.M., 1973, Kinship Networks in the Migration Process, *International Migration Review*, Vol. VII, No. 1, pp.163-175.

Comay, Y., 1972, The Migration of Professionals: An Empirical Analysis, *Canadian Journal of Economics*, Vol. 5, pp.419-429.

Committee on the Migration of Talent, 1970, *The International Migration of High-Level Manpower: Its Impact on the Development Process*, New York: Praeger.

Corbett, D.C., 1957, *Canada's Immigration Policy: A Critique*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Cowan, A.W., 1972, Migration and the Labour Force, 1971, *Canadian Manpower Review*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp.1-7.

Das, M.S., 1974, Brain Drain Controversy and African Scholars, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp.74-83.

Davies, W.K.D., 1966, Latent Migration Potential and Space Preferences, *Professional Geographers*, Vol. 18, No. 2, pp.300-304.

Davis, K., 1974, The Migrations of Human Populations, *Scientific American*, Vol. 132, pp.92-105.

Davis, M. and Krauter, J.F., 1971, *The Other Canadians: Profiles of Six Minorities*, Toronto: Methuen Publications.

Deutschman, H.D., 1972, The Residential Location Decision: Study in Residential Mobility, *Socio-Economic Planning Sciences*, Vol. 6, No. 4, pp.349-364.

DeVoretz, D. and Maki, D., 1980, The Size and Distribution of Human Capital Transfers from LDCs to Canada: 1966-1973, *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 28, No. 4, pp.779-800.

Dib, G., 1978, Migration and Naturalization Laws in Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates, Part I: Migration Laws, *Population Bulletin of the United Nations Economic Commission for Western Asia*, No. 15, pp.33-62.

Diebold, J., 1968, Is the Gap Technological? *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 46, No. 2, pp.276-291.

Dirks, G.E., 1975, The Green Paper and Canadian Refugee Policy, *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, Vol. VII, No. 1, pp.61-64.

Dirks, G.E., 1977, *Canada's Refugee Policy: Indifference or Opportunism?* Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Ecevit, Z. and Zachariah, K.C., 1978, International Labour Migration, *Finance and*

Development, Vol. 15, No. 4, pp.32-37.

Economic Commision for Africa, 1981, Draft, *International Migration in Africa: Past Present and Future Prospects,* Addis Ababa: Population Division.

Economic Council of Canada, 1978, *For a Common Future, A Study of Canada's Relations with Developing Countries,* Ottawa: Economic Council of Canada.

Elliott, J.L., ed., 1979, *Two Nations, Many Cultures: Ethnic Groups in Canada,* Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada.

Epstein, L., 1974, *Immigration and Inflation,* Ottawa: Information Canada.

Ferguson, 1974, *Immigrants in Canada,* Toronto: Guidance Centre, Faculty of Education, University of Toronto Press.

Fortney, J.A., 1970, International Migration of Professionals, *Population Studies,* Vol. XXIV, No. 2, pp.217-232.

Fortney, J.A., 1972, Immigrant Professionals - A Brief Historical Survey, *International Migration Review,* Vol. VI, No. 1, pp.50-62.

Galle, O.R. and Taeuber, K.E., 1966, Intermetropolitan Migration and Intervening Opportunities, *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 31, No. 1, pp.5-13.

George, M.V., 1970, *Internal Migration in Canada,* Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, A 1961 Census Monograph.

Glaser, W.A., 1978, *The Brain Drain: Emigration and Return,* Oxford: Pergamon Press, A United Nations Institute for Training and Research Study Report, No. 22.

Glaser, W.A. and Habers, G.C., 1974, The Migration and Return of Professionals, *International Migration Review,* Vol. VIII, No. 2, pp.227-244.

Godfrey, E.M., 1970, The Brain Drain from Low-Income Countries, *Journal of Development Studies,* Vol. 6, No. 3, pp.235-247.

Goldlust, J. and Richmond, A.H., 1977, Factors Associated with Commitment to Identification with Canada, in: Isajiw, W.W., ed., *Identities: The Impact of Ethnicity on Canadian Society,* Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, pp.132-153.,

Goldstein, J., 1964, The Extent of Repeated Migration: An Analysis Based on the Danish Population Register, *Journal of the American Statistical Association,* Vol. 59, pp.1121-1132.

Gould, W.T.S., ed., 1974, International Migration in Tropical Africa, *International Migration Review,* Vol. VI, No. 3, Special Issue.

Green, A.G., 1976, *Immigration and the Postwar Canadian Economy,* Toronto: Macmillan of Canada.

Grigg, D.B., 1980, Migration and Overpopulation, in: White and Woods, eds., pp.60-83.

Grubel, H.G. and Scott, A., 1977, *The Brain Drain: Determinants, Measurement and Welfare Effects,* Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.

Hagerstrand, T., 1953, *Innovation Diffusion as a Spatial Process,* translated in 1967, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hagerstrand, T., 1957, Migration and Area, in: Hannerberg, D., Hargerstrand, T. and Odeving, B., eds., *Migration in Sweden: A Symposium,* Lund: Lund Studies in Geography: Series B, Human Geography, No. 13, pp.25-158.

Hamilton, C.H., 1959, Educational Selectivity of Net Migrants from the South, *Social Forces,* Vol. 38, No. 1, pp.33-42.

Hamilton, C.H. and Suval, E.M., 1965, Educational Selectivity of Migrants from Farm to Urban and to Other Non-Farm Communities, in: Kantor, M.B., ed., *Mobility and Mental Health,* Springfield, Ill.: Thomas.

Harbison, F.H., 1970, Middle Africa: An Overview, in: Committee on the Migration of Talent, pp.399-406.

Hawkins, F., 1971, Canadian Immigration, *Race Today,* Vol. 3, No. 3, pp.89-90.

Hawkins, F., 1972, *Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern,* Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Hawkins, F., 1973, Uganda Asians in Canada, *New Community,* Vol. II, No. 3, pp.268-275.

Hawkins, F., 1974, Canadian Immigration Policy and Management, *International Migration Review,* Vol. VIII, No. 1, pp.141-151.

Hawkins, F., 1975, Canada's Green Paper on Immigration Policy, *International Migration Review,* Vol. IX, No. 2, pp.237-249.

Hawkins, F., 1977, Canadian Immigration: A New Law and a New Approach to Management, *International Migration Review,* Vol. XI, No. 1, pp.77-93.

Henderson, G., 1970, *Emigration of Highly-Skilled Manpower from the Developing Countries,* New York: United Nations Institute for Training and Research, Report No. 3.

Holmes, IV, A.B., 1970, East Africa: Tanzania and Kenya, in: Committee on the Migration of Talent, pp.407-443.

Hutchinson, E.P., Parai, L. and Price, C., 1973, International Migration Policy: North America and Australia, *International Population Conference, Liege 1973,* Vol. 3, Liege: International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, pp.439-452.

Indra, D., 1980, Changes in Canadian Immigration Patterns Over the Past Decade with Special Reference to Asia, in: Ujimoto and Hirabayashi, eds., pp.163-179.

Isaac, J., 1947 *Economics of Migration,* London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company.

Isard, W. and Bramhall, D.F., 1960, Gravity, Potential and Spatial Interaction Models, in: Isard, ed., *Methods of Regional Analysis: An Introduction to Regional Science,* New York: Wiley, pp.493-569.

Jackson, J.A. ed., 1969, *Migration,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jenness, R.A., 1974, Canadian Migration and Immigration Patterns and Government Policy, *International Migration Review,* Vol. VIII, No. 1, pp.5-22.

Johnson, H.G., 1965, The Economics of the "Brain Drain,": The Canadian Experience, *Minerva,* Vol. 3, No. 2, pp.299-311.

Johnson, H.G., 1967, Some Economic Aspects of Brain Drain, *Pakistan Development Review,* Vol. 7, pp.379-411.

Jones, K. and Smith, A.D., 1970, *The Economic Impact of Commonwealth Immigration,* Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press.

Jones, L.W., 1971, The Amount and Structure of Immigration into Canada and the United States, *International Population Conference, London 1969,* Vol. 4, Liege: International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, pp.2583-2595.

Kage, J., 1967, The Recent Changes in Canadian Immigration Legislation, *International Migration Review,* Vol. II, No. 1, pp.47-50.

Kalbach, W.E., 1970, *The Impact of Immigration on Canada's Population,* Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, A 1961 Census Monograph.

Kalbach, W.E., 1974, *The Effect of Immigration on Population,* Ottawa: Information Canada.

Kalbach, W.E., 1976, Canada: A Demographic Analysis, in: Ramu, G.N. and Johnson, S.D., eds., *Introduction to Canadian Society,* Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, pp.11-76.

Kannappan, S., 1968, The Brain Drain and Developing Countries, *International Labour Review,* Vol. 98, No. 1, pp.1-26.

Keely, C.B. and Elwell, P.J., 1981, International Migration : Canada and the United States, in: Kritz, M.M., Keely, C.B. and Tomasi, S.M., eds., pp.181–207.

Keenleyside, H.L., 1948, *Canadian Immigration Policy,* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Kelly, J.J., 1977, Alternative Estimates of the Volume of Emigration from Canada, 1961–71, *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology,* Vol. 14, No. 1, pp.57–67.

Keyfitz, N., 1950, The Growth of Canadian Population, *Population Studies,* Vol. IV, No. 1, pp.47–63.

Keyfitz, N. and Henripin, J., 1963, Main Trends in Canadian Population, *Population Bulletin,* Vol. 19, No. 7, pp.177–180.

Khatkhate, D.R., 1970, The Brain Drain as a Social Safety Valve, *Finance and Development,* Vol. 7, No. 1, pp.34–39.

Killmer, R.L., Lecky, R.S. and Wiley, D.S., 1971, *They Can't Go Home Again,* Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press.

King, R., 1976, The Evolution of International Labour Migration Movements Concerning the EEC, *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie,* Vol. 67, No. 2, pp.66–82.

King, R., 1978, Return Migration: A Neglected Aspect of Population Geography, *Area,* Vol. 10, No. 3, pp.175–182.

Kinsey, J., 1979, The Algerian Movement to Greater Marseille, *Geography,* Vol. 64, No. 4, pp.338–341.

Klein, H.S., 1978, *The Middle Passage: Comparative Studies in the Atlantic Slave Trade,* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Kosinski, L.A. and Prothero, R.M., eds., 1975, *People on the Move,* London: Methuen and Company.

Kritz, M.M., Keely, C.B. and Tomasi, S.M., 1981, eds., *Global Trends in Migration: Theory and Research on International Migration,* New York: Center for Migration Studies.

Kulischer, E.M., 1948, *Europe on the Move: War Population Changes, 1917-47,* New York: Columbia University Press.

Ladinsky, J., 1967, Occupational Determinants of Geographical Mobility of Professional Workers, *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 32, No. 3, pp.253–264.

Lanphier, C.M., 1979, *A Study of Third World Immigrants,* Ottawa: Economic Council of

Canada, Discussion Paper No. 144.

Lansing, J.B. and Meuller, E., 1967, *The Geographical Mobility of Labor,* Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, University of Michigan Press.

Lee, E.S., 1966, A Theory of Migration, *Demography,* Vol. 3, No. 1, pp.47–57.

Loney, M., 1971, Canada's Immigration Policy, *Race Today,* Vol. 3, No. 9, pp.303–304.

Long, L.H., 1973, New Estimates of Migration Expectancy in the United States, *Journal of the American Statistical Association,* Vol. 68, No. 1, pp.37–43.

Lowenthal, D. and Comitas, L., 1962, Emigration and Depopulation: Some Aspects of Population Geography, *Geographical Review,* Vol. LII, No. 2, pp.195–210.

Mabogunje, A.L., 1970, Systems Approach to a Theory of Rural-Urban Migration, *Geographical Analysis,* Vol. 11, No. 1, pp.1–18.

Malycky, A. and Palmer, H., co-eds., 1975, Roundtable on the Green Paper on Immigration, *Canadian Ethnic Studies,* Vol. VII, No. 1.

Marchand, P., 1981, Admission Restricted, *Saturday Night,* Vol. 96, No. 1, pp.32–41.

Markle, W.W., 1964, The Canadian Experience in Family Immigration, *Migration News,* Vol. 13, No. 3, pp.1–4.

Marr, W.L., 1976, Canadian Immigration Policy and Migrant Response to Labour Market Conditions, *Canadian Studies in Population,* Vol. 3, pp.29–40.

McClain, P.D., 1979, *Alienation and Resistance: The Political Behavior of Afro-Canadians,* Palo Alto, Calif.: R & E Research Associates.

McDonald, J.R., 1969, Labour Immigration in France, 1946–1965, *Annals,* Association of American Geographers, Vol. 59, No. 1, pp.116–134.

McNeill, W.H. and Adams, R.S., eds., 1978, *Human Migration: Patterns and Policies,* Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press.

McQuade, G.D., 1964, Trends in Canadian Immigration, *International Migration,* Vol. II, No. 3, pp.221–234.

Melady, T. and Melady, M., 1976, The Expulsion of the Asians from Uganda, *Orbis,* Vol. 19, No. 4, pp.1600–1620.

Merrian, M.F., 1970, Reversing the Brain Drain: A Case Study from India, *International Development Review,* Vol. XII, No. 3, pp.16–21.

Miller, A.A., 1965, *Climatology*, London: Methuen and Company.

Miller, A.R., 1966, Migration Differentials in Labour Force Participation: United States, 1960, *Demography*, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp.58-68.

Moldofsky, N., 1972, Planning in Immigration? The Canadian Experience, *Australian Outlook*, Vol. 26, No. 1, pp.67-82.

Moldofsky, N., 1975, Expellees and 'Voluntary' Refugees from Less-Developed Lands, *International Migration*, Vol. XIII, No. 1/2, pp.42-52.

Moore, E.G., 1966, Models of Migration and the Intra-Urban Case, *The Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp.16-37.

Morrill, R.L., 1965, *Migration and the Spread and Growth of Urban Settlement*, Lund: Lund Studies in Geography, Series B, Human Geography, No. 26.

Morrill, R.L. and Pitts, F.R., 1972, Marriage, Migration and Mean Information Field: A Study in Uniqueness and Generality, in: English, P.W. and Mayfield, R.C., eds., *Man, Space, and Environment*, New York/Toronto: pp.359-384.

Morrison, P.A., 1975, Population Movements and the Shape of Urban Growth: Implications for Public Policy, in: Friedmann, J. and Alonso, W., eds., *Regional Policy: Readings in Theory and Applications*, Cambridge, Mass.: Michigan Institute of Technology Press.

Motuz, L., 1974, *Immigration as a Component of Growth and Distribution of Canada's Population*, Ottawa: Department of Manpower and Immigration.

Myers, R.G., 1967, "Brain Drains" and "Brain Gains," *International Development Review*, Vol. IX, No. 4, pp.4-9.

Nagarajan, K.V., 1970, Brain Drain: A Preliminary Survey, *The Indian Economic Journal*, Vol. 17, pp.324-342.

Neft, D.S., 1966, *Statistical Analysis for Areal Distributions*, Philadelphia: Regional Science Research Institute.

Newland, K., 1979, *International Migration: The Search for Work*, New York: Center for Migration Studies.

Nielsen, S.T., 1973, *Immigrants and the Mobility of the Indigenous Population*, Ottawa: Information Canada.

Olsson, G., 1965a, *Distance and Human Interaction: A Review and Bibliography*, Philadelphia: Regional Science Research Institute.

Olsson, G., 1965b, Distance and Human Interaction: A Migration Study, *Geografiska*

Annaler, Vol. 47B, No. 1, pp.3–43.

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 1979, *Migration, Growth and Development,* Paris: OECD.

Overbeek, J., 1980, *Population and Canadian Society,* Toronto: Butterworths.

Parai, L., 1965, *Immigration and Emigration of Professional Skilled Manpower During the Postwar Period,* Ottawa: Queen's Printer, Special Study No. 1.

Parai, L., 1974 *The Economic Impact of Immigration,* Ottawa: Information Canada.

Parai, L., 1975, Canada's Immigration Policy, 1962–1974., *International Migration Review,* Vol. IX, No. 4, pp.449–475.

Passaris, C.E.A., 1979, Absorptive Capacity and Canada's Post-war Immigration Policy, *International Migration,* Vol. XII, No. 3/4, pp.297–303.

Petersen, W., 1975, *Population,,* Third Edition, New York, London: Macmillan Publishing Company.

Petersen, W., 1978, International Migration, *Annual Review of Sociology,* Vol: 4, pp.533–575.

Population Reference Bureau, 1971, *1971 World Population Data Sheet,* Washington, D.C.: Population Reference Bureau.

Portes, A., 1976, Determinants of the Brain Drain, *International Migration Review,* Vol. X. No. 4, pp.489–508.

Pryor, R.J., 1976, Conceptualizing Migration Behaviour – A Problem in Micro-Demographic Analysis, in: Kosinski, L.A. and Webb, J.W., eds., *Population at Microscale,* Hamilton: New Zealand Geographical Society and the Population Commission of the International Gegraphical Union, pp.105–119.

Pryor, R.J., 1981, Integrating International and Internal Migration Theories, in: Kritz, M.M., Keely, C.B. and Thomasi, S.M., eds.,pp.110–129.

Psacharopoulos, G., 1971, On Some Positive Aspects of the Brain Drain, *Minerva,* Vol. 9, No. 2, pp.229–242.

Pyne, P. and Price, C., 1976, Selected Tables on Australian Immigration, 1947–74, in: Price, C. and Martin, J.I., eds., *Australian Immigration, A Bibliography and Digest,* No. 3, Part I, Canberra: Australian National University, pp.A15–A56.

Ravenstein, E.G., 1885, The Laws of Migration, *Journal of the Statistical Society,* Vol. XLVIII, Part II, pp.165–227.

Ravenstein, E.G., 1889, The Laws of Migration, *Journal of the Statistical Society*, Vol. LII, pp.214–301.

Rawlyk, G.A., 1962, Canada's Immigration Policy, 1945–1962, *Dalhousie Review*, Vol. 42, No. 3, pp.287–300.

Rice, J.G. and Ostergren, R.C., 1978, The Decision to Emigrate: A Study in Diffusion, *Geografiska Annaler*, Vol. 60B, No. 1, pp.1–15.

Richmond, A.H., 1967, *Post-War Immigrants in Canada*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Richmond, A.H., 1969a, Immigration and Pluralism in Canada, *International Migration Review*, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp.5–24.

Richmond, A.H., 1969b, Sociology of Migration in Industrial and Post-Industrial Societies, in: Jackson, ed.

Richmond, A.H., 1975a, Canadian Immigration: Recent Developments and Future Prospects, *International Migration*, Vol. XIII, No. 1/2, pp.163–182.

Richmond, A.H., 1975b, The Green Paper: Reflections on the Canadian Immigration and Population Study, *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, Vol. VII, No. 4, pp.5–21.

Richmond, A.H., 1976, Black and Asian Immigrants in Britain and Canada, *New Community*, Vol. IV, No. 4, pp.501–516.

Richmond, A.H., 1978, Immigration, Population, and the Canadian Future, in: Glenday, D., Guindon, H. and Turowetz, A., eds., *Modernization and the Canadian State*, Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, pp.301–316.

Richmond, A.H. and Kalbach, W.E., 1980, *Factors in the Adjustment of Immigrants and Their Descendants*, Ottawa: Statistics Canada, A 1971 Census Monograph.

Richmond, A.H. and Rao, G.L., 1976, Recent Developments in Immigration to Canada and Australia: A Comparative Analysis, *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol. XVII, No. 3/4, pp.183–205.

Richmond, A.H. and Verma, R.P., 1978, The Economic Adaptation of Immigrants: A New Theoretical Perspective, *International Migration Review*, Vol. 12, No 1, pp.3–38.

Roddick, P.M., 1956, Canadian Immigration Policy: The Hard Facts, *International Journal*, Vol. XI, No. 2, pp.122–128.

Rose, A.M., 1958, Distance of Migration and Socioeconomic Status of Migrants, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 23, No. 4, pp.420–423.

Roseman, C.C., 1971, Migration as a Spatial and Temporal Process, *Annals*, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 61, No. 3, pp.589-598.

Runblom, H. and Norman, H., 1976, *From Sweden to America,* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Sampat-Mehta, R., 1973, *International Barriers,* Ottawa: Harpell's Press.

Segal, G.L., 1977, *How to Immigrate to Canada,* Second Edition, Vancouver: International Self-Counsel Press.

Shaw, R.P., 1975, *Migration Theory and Fact,* Bibliography Series, No. 5, Philadelphia: Regional Science Research Institute.

Shaw, R.P., Kliewer, E. and Guild, C., 1973, Aspects of Canadian Immigration: 1951-71, *International Migration,* Vol. XI, No.3, pp.118-128.

Sheppard,E.S., 1978, Theoretical Underpinnings of the Gravity Hypothesis, *Geographical Analysis,* Vol. 10, No. 4, pp.386-402.

Shryock, Jr, H.S., 1964, *Population Mobility Within the United States,* Chicago: Community and Family Study Center, University of Chicago Press.

Sjaastad, L.A., 1962, The Costs and Returns of Human Migration, *Journal of Political Economy,* Vol. 70, No. 5, Part II, pp.S80-S93.

Speare, Jr., A., 1974, The Relevance of Models of Internal Migration for the Study of International Migration, in: Tapinos, G., ed.

St. John-Jones, L.W., 1973, Canadian Immigration: Policy and Trends in the 1960s, *International Migration,* Vol. XI, No. 1/2, pp.141-170.

St. John-Jones, L.W., 1979, Emigration from Canada in the 1960s, *Population Studies,* Vol. 33, No. 1, pp.115-124.

Stein, B.N. and Tomasi, S.M., 1981, eds., Refugees Today,*International Migration Review,* Vol. XV, No. 1-2, Special Issue.

Stewart, J.Q. and Warntz, W., 1958, Physics of Population Distributions, *Journal of Regional Science,* Vol. 1, pp.99-123.

Stockwell, E.G., cond., 1976, *The Methods and Materials of Demography,* by Shryock, H.S. and Siegel, J.S., New York: Academic Press.

Stokvis, P.R.D., 1979, Transatlantic Migration in Theoretical Perspective, *International Migration,* Vol. XVII, No. 3/4, pp.304-309.

Stone, L.O., 1969, *Migration in Canada,* Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, A 1961

Census Monograph.

Stone, L.O. and Marceau, C., 1977, *Canadian Population Trends and Public Policy Through the 1980s,* Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Stouffer, S.A., 1940, Intervening Opportunities: A Theory Relating Mobility and Distance, *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 5, No. 6, pp.845-867.

Stouffer, S.A. , 1960, Intervening Opportunities and Competing Migrants, *Journal of Regional Science,* Vol. 2, No. 1, pp.1-26.

Stub, H.R., 1962, The Occupational Characteristics of Migrants to Dulutti: A Retest of Rose's Hypothesis, *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 27, No. 1, pp.87-90.

Sunahara, M.N., 1980, Federal Policy and the Japanese Canadians: The Decision to Evacuate, 1942, in: Ujimoto, K.V. and Hirabayashi, G., eds., pp.93-120.

Sunday Times of Zambia, Let's Fight Brain Drain, September 13, 1981.

Tapinos, G., ed., 1974 *International Migration: Proceedings of a Seminar on Demographic Research in Relation to International Migration, Buenos Aires 1974,* Paris: Committee for International Co-ordination of National Research in Demography.

Taylor, C.E., 1979, Estimating Canada's Emigration, *Intercom,* Vol. 7, No. 5, pp.7-9.

Thomas, B., ed., 1958, *Economics of International Migration, Proceedings of a Conference held by the International Economic Association* , London: Macmillan and Company.

Thomas, B., 1959, International Migration, in: Hauser, P.M. and Duncan, D.O., eds., *The Study of Population: An Inventory and Appraisal,* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, pp.510-543.

Thomas, B., 1973, *Migration and Economic Growth,* Second Edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thomas, B., 1975, Economic Factors in International Migration, in: Tabah, L., ed., *Population Growth and Economic Development in the Third World,* Liege: International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, pp.441-472.

Thomas, D.S., 1938, *Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials,* New York: Social Science Research Council Bulletin, No. 43.

Thomas, D.S., 1958, Age and Economic Differentials in Interstate Migration, *Population Index,* Vol. 24, No. 3, pp.313-366.

Timlin, M.F., 1950, Economic Theory and Immigration Policy, *Canadian Journal of*

Economics and Political Science, Vol. 16, No. 3, pp.375-382.

Timlin, M.F., 1951, *Does Canada Need More People?* Toronto: Canadian Institute for International Affairs.

Timlin, M.F., 1965, Canada's Immigration Policy: An Analysis, *International Migration*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp.52-72.

Toney, M.B., 1976, Length of Residence, Social Ties, and Economic Opportunities, *Demography*, Vol. 13, No. 3, pp.297-310.

Toney, M.B., 1978, The Simultaneous Examination of Economic and Social Factors in Destination Selection: Employing Objective and Subjective Measures, *Demography*, Vol. 15, No. 2, pp.205-212.

Ujimoto, K.V. and Hirabayashi, G., eds., 1980, *Visible Minorities and Multiculturalism: Asians in Canada*, Toronto: Butterworths.

United Nations, 1971, *The Brain Drain from Five Developing Countries*, New York: United Nations Institute for Training and Research, Report No. 5.

United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 1973, *The Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends*, Vol. 1, New York: Population Studies No. 50.

United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 1975, *The Population Debate: Dimensions and Perspectives, Papers of the World Population Conference, Bucharest 1974*, Vol. 1, New York: Population Studies, No. 57.

United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 1979a, *Trends and Characteristics of International Migration Since 1950*, New York: Demographic Studies , No. 64.

United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 1979b, *World Population Trends and Policies: 1977 Monitoring Report, Vol. 1, Trends*, New York: Population Studies , No. 62.

United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 1979c, *World Population Trends and Policies: 1977 Monitoring Report, Vol. II, Policies*, New York: Population Studies No. 62.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1971, *Scientists Abroad: A Study of the International Movement of Persons in Science and Technology*, Paris: UNESCO.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1980, *Statistical Yearbook, 1980*, London: UNESCO.

Walters, D., 1968, *Canadian Income Levels and Growth: An International Perspective*, Ottawa: Queen's Printer.

Warntz, W., 1964, A New Map of the Surface of Potentials for the United States, 1960, *Geographical Review*, Vol. 54, No. 2, pp.170-184.

Warren, R., 1977, Recent Immigration and Current Data Collection, *Monthly Labor Review*, Vol. 100, No. 10, pp.36-41.

Watanabe, S., 1969, The Brain Drain from Developing to Developed Countries, *International Labour Review*, Vol. 99, No. 4, pp.401-433.

Weeks, J.R., 1978, *Population: An Introduction to Concepts and Issues*, Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Wermuth, D. and Wermuth, N., 1975, Some Determinants of the Migration of Professional Manpower, *Demography*, Vol. 12, No. 4, pp.615-628.

White, P. and Woods, R., eds. 1980, *The Geographical Impact of Migration*, London: Longman Group Limited.

Williams, R.N., 1971, *The New Exiles: American War Registers in Canada*, New York: Liveright Publishers.

Wilson, J.A. and Gaston, J., 1974, Reflux from the "Brain Drain," *Minerva*, Vol. XII, No. 4, pp.459-468.

Winks, R., 1971, *The Blacks in Canada*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Wolpert, J., 1965, Behavioural Aspects of the Decision to Migrate, *Papers and Proceedings of the Regional Science Association*, Vol. 15, pp.159-169.

Wolpert, J., 1966, Migration as an Adjustment to Environmental Stress, *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. 22, No. 4, pp.92-102.

Wong, H-C.W, 1979, *Migration Patterns in West-Central Alberta*, Edmonton: Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Alberta.

Woods, R., 1979, *Population Analysis in Geography*, London: Longman Group Limited.

Zahlan, A.B., 1977, The Brain Drain Controversy, *International Population Conference, Mexico 1977*, Vol. 2, Liege: International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, pp.319-327.

Zahlan, A.B., 1979, The Arab Brain Drain, *Population Bulletin of the United Nations Economic Commission for Western Asia*, No. 16, pp.19-38.

Zelinsky, W., 1971, The Hypothesis of the Mobility Transition, *Geographical Review*, Vol. LXI, No. 2, pp.219-249.

Zelinsky, W., 1979, The Demographic Transition: Changing Patterns of Migration, *Conference on Science in the Service of Mankind, Vienna 1979,* Liege: International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, pp. 165-189.

Zipf, G.K., 1946, The P_1P_2/D Hypothesis: On the Intercity Movement of Persons, *American Sociological Review,* Vol. II, No. 4, pp.667-686.

Zolberg, A.R., 1978, International Migration Policies in a Changing World System, in: McNeill, W.H. and Adams, R.S., eds., pp.241-286.

APPENDIX A

MIGRATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS IN EDMONTON

Sex
Marital status
Occupation
Country of birth
Year of birth
Citizenship
Number of children
Educational qualifications
Country of last permanent residence

REASONS FOR MIGRATING

Were you married when you moved to Canada?
Did you move alone at first?
If no, whom did you come with?
Were you working in the country of last permanent residence?
If yes, what was your occupation?
Were you satisfied with your job?
If yes, why do you say so?
If no, why not?
When you moved to Canada, did you have a job waiting for you?
If no, how long did it take you to be employed?
Is this the first job you have held in Canada?
If no, where else have you worked?
Why did you change?
What are the opportunities to advance in your job?
Why did you leave your country of birth?
Why did you leave the last country?

CHOICE OF DESTINATION

How many choices of places did you have before you decided to come to Canada?
Was Canada your first choice?
If no, why did you then specifically come to Canada
Did you have any experience with Canada before you came here?
If yes, how?
Why did you choose to come to Edmonton?

MIGRATION HISTORY

When did you come to Canada?
Did you live in any other foreign country (or countries) before you finally came to Canada?
If yes, where?
Why?
When?
What was your status when you applied to come to Canada?
When you decided to come did you come straight to Edmonton?
If no, where else in Canada did you live?
Why did you go there?
Why did you later choose to come to Edmonton?.
When did you come to Edmonton?
If you came straight to Edmonton, why did you choose to come here and not somewhere else?
Have you sponsored anybody to come to Canada since you moved?
If yes, how many?
Where in Canada did they settle?
If no, do you intend to sponsor someone?

SOCIAL NETWORKS AND INTEGRATION

How often do you hear from relatives back home? ..... Have you ever visited them or have

they ever visited you?..........
If yes, how many times in each case?..........
If no, is there any reason for that?..........
Do you belong to any club, church or professional organization?..........
If yes, which ones?..........
Do you know any other immigrant from Africa? ....
If yes, how many do you know?..........
Where do they live?..........
Are you in contact with them?..........
Do you own this dwelling?..........
Do you live in an apartment or in a house?)..........
If no, do you intend to buy one?..........
What other property do you own?..........
What does your spouse do for a living?..........
If she is working, what is her occupation? ....
Now that you have lived in Edmonton or Canada for some time, are you satisfied with your move?..........
Why do you say so?..........
What are some of the economic and social opportunities open for an individual from Africa in Canada?. ....
Why do you say so?..........
What were the major problem(s) (if any) you or your family had when you just arrived from the country of your last residence?..........

FUTURE MIGRATORY PLANS

What are your near-future (the next 18 months) plans in so far as your stay in Edmonton is concerned? ....
Do you think you will ever move out of Edmonton?.. ....
If yes, where would you go?..........
When do you think this will be?..........
If no, why don't you want to move?..........
If you do not know, why do you think it is difficult for you to decide right now? ....
Do you think you will ever go back to your home country?.......... Under what circumstances would you go back home? ....

APPENDIX B

PETITION OF RESIDENTS OF EDMONTON AND STRATHCONA TO SIR WILFRED LAURIER, PREMIERE OF CANADA, DATED 18TH APRIL 1911

We, the undersigned residents of the City of Edmonton and Strathcona respectfully urge upon that of the Government of which you are the head, the serious menace to the future welfare of a large portion of Western Canada, by reason of the alarming influx of negro settlers.

This influx commenced about four years ago in a very small way, only four or five families coming in the first season, followeed by thirty or forty families the next year. Last year several hundred negroes arrived at Edmonton and settled in surrounding territory. Already this season nearly three hundred have arrived; and the statement is made, both by these arrivals and by press dispatches, that these are but the advance guard of hosts to follow. We submit that the advent of such negroes as are now here was most unfortunate for the country, and that further arrivals in large numbers would be disastrous. We cannot admit as any factor the argument that these people may be good farmers or good citizens. It is a matter of common knowledge that it has been proved in the United States that negroes and Whites cannot live in close proximity without the occurrence of revolting to lawlessness, and the development of bitter race hatred, and that the most serious question facing the United States to-day is the negro problem. We are anxious that such a problem should not be introduced into this fair land at present enjoying a reputation for freedom from such lawlessness as has developed in the United States where there is any considerable negro element. There is no reason to believe that we have here a higher order of civilization, or that the introduction of a negro problem here would have different results.

We therefore respectfully urge that such steps immediately be taken by the Government of Canada as will prevent any further immigration of negroes into Western Canada.

And your petitioners, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

COPY OF RESOLUTION PASSED AT REGULAR MEETING OF THE MUNICIPAL COUNCIL OF EDMONTON, DATED 25TH APRIL, 1911.

IB A533343

That this Council views with very serious concern the influx of negro settlers into Central Alberta, which influx is increasing in volume with alarming rapidity, and if unchecked, promises in the near future to have a disastrous influence upon the welfare and development of this fair Province:

AND WHEREAS it has been reported to this Council that, in some outlying districts, the negro population already outnumbers the white settlers, and the whites are in consequence unable either to induce more white settlers to come into such districts, or to sell out their holdings and move elsewhere, and it has come to the knowledge of officers of this Council that many most desirable white settlers have been deterred from settling in the country after having come here with intention of so doing, by the reason of the number of colored homesteaders scattered throughout the country, and the probability of such further large increase in the numbers.

AND WHEREAS it is the opinion of this Council, that the advent of negroes here will inevitably give rise to the same problems and conditions that have arisen in the United States, wherever the two races have come in contact, and that the people of this City and surrounding country should exhaust every resource to prevent such conditions arising.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Government of Canada be asked to forthwith take such steps as will effectually prevent the advent of negroes to Western Canada, and that such negroes as are now on homestead lands in the country be segregated in certain defined area or areas from which white settlers should be removed, and that copies of this resolution be sent to the Right Honorable Sir Wilfred Laurier, Premier of Canada, and to the Honorable Frank Oliver.

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY OF THE MORINVILLE BOARD OF TRADE, TO FRANK OLIVER, MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR, DATED 29TH APRIL, 1911.

IB A533344

The following resolution was unanimously carried at a meeting of our Board of Trade held on the 27th inst:

> "That this Board of Trade is very much opposed to the influx of negroes into Western Canada and Northern Alberta in particular and that as such immigration is detrimental to the settlement of the good land in this Province by the more desirable settlers. THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Government of Canada be asked to take such steps forthwith as will prevent the incoming of negroes into Western Canada and that a segregated area be provided for those already on homesteads in Western Canada and that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Right Honourable Sir Wilfred Laurier, Premier of Canada and the Honourable Frank Oliver, our representative.
>
> We would respectfully urge upon your attention as our representative in the Dominion House of Commons the serious difficulties that are likely to arise in Canada should the incoming of negroes be allowed to continue. About two or three hundred have already come in this season and we understand that this number is just a small proportion of the number still intending to come. The principal objection is that it would be hard to get desirable settlers to take up land in the vicinity of that already taken up by the negroes and should both take up land near each other it is altogether probable that the same difficult problems and conditions would arise in Canada as are the present day experienced by the United States.
>
> We therefore respectfully ask that you will use your influence in the present session of Parliament towards legislation that will prevent any further immigration of negroes into Western Canada.

LETTER TO I.C. CREAVES, FROM THE ACTING DEPUTY MINISTER, DATED 23RD NOVEMBER, 1929.

Dear Madam,

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 14th instant, addressed to the Minister of this Department, in which you state that you are writing a Master of Arts thesis on the negro in Canada and would like to have some information as to the attitude of the Department towards negroes.

Canada seeks certain classes of immigration and in the search limits the effort to those classes needed in Canada and those races most readily assimilable. The admission to Canada of immigrants, is not, however, strictly limited to the classes or races we seek. Individuals of many races and classes seek entry to Canada sometimes on the ground of relationship or on some other ground that may or may not warrant consideration. It would never do to regard our immigration returns as an absolutely accurate and complete index to our immigration policy and for the reasons already explained.

So far as the negro is concerned we have never encouraged his settlement in Canada regardless of his occupation although we have admitted and still admit a few coloured folk who are able to comply with existing immigration regulations. No person is debarred from Canada under the Immigration regulations solely on the ground of race or colour. The Chinese may perhaps be excepted from this general statement. Chinese are dealt with by separate legislation and the admission to Canada of Chinese immigrants has for the past five or six years been limited to certain classes of business and professional men.

Negroes seldom in this country go for land settlement and seldom engage in any other basic industry. They are as a rule better adapted to life in a warmer climate than we enjoy during winter months. The negro is never racially assimilated and one cannot but hope that the day will never come in this country when we shall have large minority unassimilable groups as the negro who regardless of possession of excellent qualities can never be absorbed economically.

The public lands of Canada are not all controlled by the Federal Government. The Federal public lands lie in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and in a small section of British Columbia. There is no restriction of race or colour so far as free homesteads are concerned. Some twenty-five or thirty years ago there was a movement of negro and half-breed Indian people into Saskatchewan and Alberta mainly from the State of Oklahoma. These people did not succeed. I have no doubt that climatic as well as social and racial conditions played a part in the failure. At any rate the movement did not continue and I doubt whether any of the original settlers are still to be found in our Western Provinces.

I regret that I am unable to give you any statistics showing the number of persons of the negro race who are holders of homestead or other farm land in Canada.

APPENDIX C

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE SPECIAL JOINT COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON IMMIGRATION POLICY, ESTABLISHED IN MARCH 1975. SUMMARY BY HAWKINS (1975, pp.48-49).

(1)Canada should continue to be a country of immigration for demographic, economic, family and humanitarian considerations.

(2)Immigration should be treated in future as a central variable in a national population policy. A country as large and thinly populated as Canada cannot afford the declining population which is indicated by current trends in fertility and must continue to welcome a minimum of 100,000 immigrants a year as long as present fertility rates prevail. Major efforts should also be made to forestall a further decline in Canada's French-speaking population.

(3)Annual admission figures should be calculated on the basis of this 100,000 minimum plus an immigration target to be adjusted from time to time to achieve an even rate of population growth and to take account of changing economic conditions. Too much fluctuation in the rate of admission should be avoided.

(4)The Minister of Manpower and Immigration should propose an annual target figure after consultation with the provinces. This should then be subject to Parliamentary scrutiny. A new commitment to policy planning is implied in the formation of these targets.

(5) Immigration is a long-term investment in human resources. Our present rapid rate of labour force. expansion is likely to decline abruptly around 1980. From then on, future economic development might actually be held back by labour shortages unless immigration is continued.

(6)The principle of non-discrimination in immigration on the basis of race, creed, nationality, ethnic origin and sex should be continued and should be formally set out in the new Immigration Act.

(7) Canada has already become to a large extent a multicultural and multiracial society. Prejudices against immigrants in relation to urban growth, housing shortages, excess use of social services and benefits, and crime are unjustified. The settlement of post-war immigrants alongside our founding cultures has been one of the most positive chapters in Canada's post-war history.

(8) Nevertheless our present immigration system needs modifying and modernizing with the object of regulating our immigration flow to achieve desired population growth. In order to achieve improved immigration management, it is recommended that:

1. A permanent joint federal-provincial committee should co-ordinate the development and implementation of immigration policy. Federal-provincial collaboration would include a provincial presence in the overseas selection of immigrants for all provinces along the lines of the recent agreements on the subject between Ottawa and Quebec; joint programs in relation to foreign students; and co-operation in the provision of immigrant services.
2. To encourage the flow of independent applicants to Canada (i.e., those without relatives here who are admitted on the basis of their skills and talents), and to prevent the classes of sponsored and nominated immigrants from absorbing an increasingly larger share of our immigration movement, the present class of nominated immigrant should be dropped and the ties between non-dependent extended family members recognized in a different way.
3. The points system should be retained but modified in certain respects including fewer points for occupation skill, as well as additional points for a relative in Canada to compensate for dropping the nominated class.
4. The category of area demand in the points system should be used experimentally to encourage immigrants to settle in areas requiring development and population growth. Immigrants willing to settle in designated communities could be given the opportunity to emigrate immediately on the basis of a two year contract.
5. To achieve better control over illegal immigration, the idea of introducing a comprehensive visitor visa system was rejected in favour of a more limited entry and exit card system to be tried on an experimental basis. If this proved ineffective, a visitor visa system could be considered. More thorough follow-up , control and enforcement procedures relating to illegal immigration within Canada should be introduced, and more immigration staff and better support services provided at Canada-U.S. border crossing points.
6. Because deportation carries a stigma with it, the introduction of a simple "required

to depart" procedure is recommended to be used in cases of minor breaches of the Immigration Act or regulations.

(9) A clear statement on Canada's refugee policy should be made.

(10)Increased attention should now be given by the Department of Manpower and Immigration to the planning, development and co-ordination of immigrant services in Canada, in consultation with other levels of government. The federal government should review and expand its program for the support of voluntary agencies. Special attention should be paid to the needs of immigrant children in the school system, immigrant women, particularly wives and mothers and to the need for a concerted program to develop information, counselling and referral services in the major immigrant communities. More attention should be given to the development of programs related to cross-cultural and inter-racial understanding. A federal Human Rights Commission with responsibilities for reconciliation , public education programs and the enforcement of human rights legislation would help to ensure fair and just treatment of racial and ethnic minorities.